DISCOVERY OF PAKISTAN

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By

A. AZIZ

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To

The Victims of Brahmanism



THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

HISTORY is a priceless heritage of a nation and hence it has been said: "Unless history is presented to us truly, it had better not been presented to us at all." In case of the sub-continent of India, the history presented to us has been made and not written. Even the major events lie buried beneath mountains of lies, fabricated stories and legends, motivated and woven by the racial prejudices and political objectives of those in power. Next to Muslims, the Dravidians, Rajputs, Jats and other branches of Scythian stock are the main victims of this historical dishonesty. Their history has yet to be written. This work is just an attempt at shaking aside the layers and deposits of distortions and bringing to view some realities about these peoples and the injustice done to them. It covers the deadly conflicts of different civilisations facing each other at different times in India, the human affairs from times of the great Dravidian (also known as Indus Valley) civilisation extinguished by the unrelenting tyranny of Aryanism down to the impact of British Imperialism, the political and social upheavals and the violent changes which have left behind undying impressions on the immortal rocks of time during the last four thousand years. The story of the havoc, carnage, and savagery wrought by the Aryan invaders and their great-grandsons—the Brahmans—is told from the fates and records of the peoples who suffered. This book gives an account of the sordid ambition of individuals which shattered the fabric of the mighty Mughal Empire and eventually effaced the Muslim rule from India. It introduces the reader to the enlivening examples of many a great hero who sacrificed everything in the attempts to break the chains of slavery but whose name has now disappeared into oblivion. It deals with the ruin and endless chain of sufferings to which our ancestors were subjected, the sea of chaos to which they were driven from the noble impulses of India-wide liberation and then with the discovery of Pakistan, and the tale of intrigues which partitioned Pakistan. It exposes the threads which have woven the structure of the myth known by the terminology "Hindu," and lays naked the hands which have seated the Brahman on the pedestal of "Bharata Varsha" after strangulating 150 millions of the non-Aryan peoples—a story of oppression and tears.

Originality of approach in diverse aspects, and not merely a different angle of vision, would be the main feature of this book and that is likely to destroy or shake the bedrocks of what has gained currency as "fundamental conceptions" about the Indian history and to provoke a good controversy. I am equally sure it will help a good deal to clear up the vision about the "ever-broadening stream" of history of this sub-continent. An attempt has also been made to

make details as accurate and authentic as possible in the light of the latest researches.

I wish this book should be able to provoke better researches in our history which should rescue our noble heritage.

A. AZIZ

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Races and Peoples

THE history of the British rise to power in India begins with the farce of Plassey which has immortalised the perfidy of Mir Jaffer and fiendishness of Clive. At that time and even a hundred years afterwards, India formed, in the words of Sir William Hunter,[1] "a great museum of races in which one can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture."[2] Historians have classified these races and peoples into two main groups which are briefly drawn up as under:

Aryans

- Brahman
- Kshatriya
- Vaishya

Non-Aryans

I. ABORIGINES
- (*i*) Tibeto-Burman family
- (*ii*) Oriyas
- (*iii*) Madras family

II. TURANIAN STOCK
- (*a*) **Kolarians**
  - (*i*) Kols
  - (*ii*) Santals
  - (*iii*) Ahoms
  - (*iv*) Mundas
  - (*v*) Hos
- (*b*) **Dravidians**
  1. *Madras Family*
     - (*i*) Tamil-speaking

1. Sir William Hunter is an authority on the subject. Apart from his very valuable contributions on the statistics of India, he compiled and published a dictionary of the non-Aryan languages of India which comprises 139 languages and dialects.

2. Sir William Hunter, *Indian Peoples.*

(ii) Malayalam-speaking
(iii) Telugu-speaking
(iv) Tulu-speaking
(v) Kanarese
(vi) Kuory-speaking

2. *Gonds*
Kandhs
Bhils
Nagas
3. *The untouchables, low-castes or scheduled castes or "Shudras"*

(c) **Scythians**
(i) Rajputs
(ii) Jats
(iii) Marathas

III. INDIAN CHRISTIANS
IV. PARSEES
V. MUSLIMS
VI. SIKHS

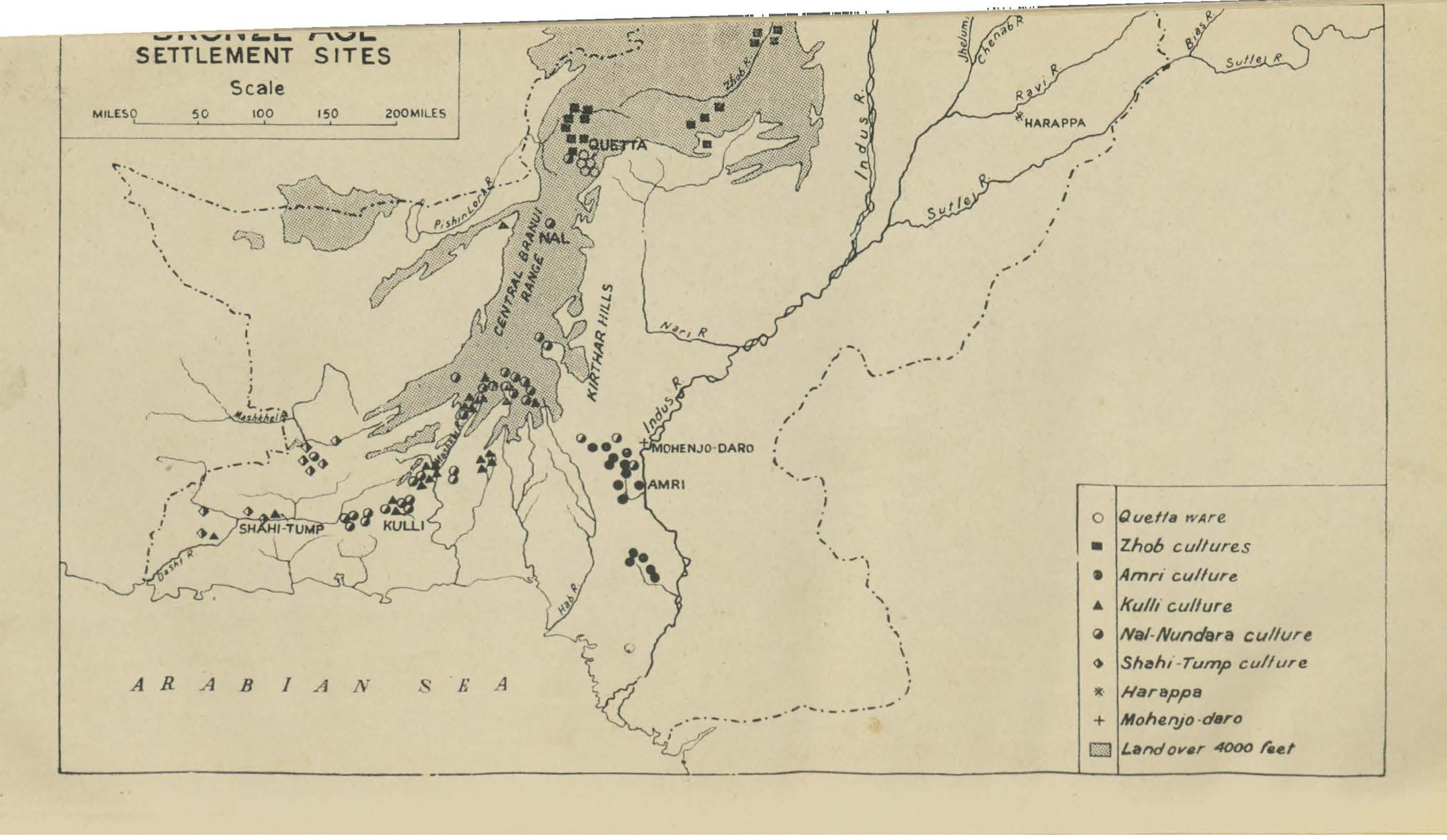
The Aborigines

Who the first inhabitants of India were and where they came from, we know not. They have left no written records; the use of letters, or of any simplest hieroglyphics, it appears, was to them unknown. The sole works of their hand which have come down to us are the rude stone circles and the upright slabs and the mounds beneath which they buried their dead; and these obscure and imperfect fragments are the only materials with which we are left, at a distance of about six-seven thousand years, to conjecture about those primeval people, their existence and their life. From the rude and rough stones and the arrow-heads dug up in the alluvial deposits of the great rivers of India, it is presumed that "in primeval days, wild and savage people inhabited the lowlands and open country, wandering to and fro along the riversides in search of food. In course of centuries, these aboriginal inhabitants appear to have been gradually driven from their houses in the river valleys by other invading races to the lofty mountain ranges, where, amidst the dense forests, their descendants still live undisturbed, retaining the primitive simplicity, superstitions, beliefs and habits. During the taking of census of 1872, it was ascertained that one-twelfth of the population of India, nearly twenty millions of human beings, consisted of these living fossils of the primeval times."[1]

In absence of a race-name of their own, these primeval people are called the Aborigines, and are now split up into three main groups —the Tibeto-Burman tribes, Oriya tribes and the Madras family.

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1. R. W. Frazer, *British India* (Story of Nations Series), p. 50.


BRONZE AGE
SETTLEMENT SITES
Scale
MILES 0 50 100 150 200 MILES
QUETTA
NAL
CENTRAL BRAHUI RANGE
KIRTHAR HILLS
Pishin Lora R.
Zhob R.
Indus R.
Jhelum
Chenab R.
Ravi R.
HARAPPA
Beas R.
Sutlej R.
Nari R.
Mashkhel R.
MOHENJO-DARO
AMRI
SHAHI-TUMP
KULLI
Dasht R.
Hab R.
ARABIAN SEA
Quetta ware
Zhob cultures
Amri culture
Kulli culture
Nal-Nundara culture
Shahi-Tump culture
Harappa
Mohenjo-daro
Land over 4000 feet

Tibeto-Burman Tribes: The slopes and spurs of the Himalayas on the eastern borders of India are peopled by a great variety of formidable non-Aryan tribes such as "Abars" in the Mishmi Hills (Assam) and their cognate tribes Miris, Daphlas and Akas; the Gurkhas, Bhatiyas and Khasis in the Nepal and Bhutan regions and the Nagas on the bordering areas of Assam and Burma. These inhabitants are grouped together under the name "Tibeto-Burman Tribes."

A striking resemblance of manners, complexion, religious beliefs and language seemed to indicate a common origin of Mongolia. The first batch, it is conjectured, confident in their valour and careless of whatever power might oppose their progress, issued from the Mongolian deserts, and followed an unknown course. Piracy was the sole trade, the glory and the virtue of those wandering savages. They explored every region that promised either spoil or settlement and, in the course of long wanderings, they settled, at length, in their present homes on the slopes of the Himalayas. Their isolation from the rest of India has left them ignorant of the progress and improvement of above six-seven thousand years. "Some of the Assam hillmen," wrote Sir William Hunter in 1872, "have no word for expressing distance by miles or by any land-measure, but reckon the length of a journey by the number of plugs of tobacco or betel-leaf which they chew up on the way. They hate work; and, as a rule, they are fierce, black, undersized and ill-fed. In old times they earned a scanty livelihood by plundering the hamlets of the Assam valley. We now use them as a sort of police, to keep the peace of the border, in return for a yearly gift of cloth, shoes and grain. Their very names bear witness to their former wild life. One tribe, the Akas of Assam, is divided into two clans, whose names literally mean 'The Eaters of a Thousand Hearths,' and 'The Thieves Who Lurk in the Cotton Field.'"

The "Leaf-Wearers" of Orissa: An unnamed wild tribe of black complexion, about 20,000 in number (in 1872), of Juangs or Patuas, meaning literally the "Leaf-Wearers," dwelt in the obscure woods of the northern hills of Orissa. Their leaf coverings distinguished them in the eighteenth century. "Until twenty years ago," writes Sir William Hunter, "their women wore no clothes, but only a few strings of beads around the waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind. In 1871, the English Officer called together the clan, and, after a speech, handed out strips of cotton for the women to put on."[1]

The Hillmen of Madras: Southwards of Madras, several non-Aryan tribes are spread over the Anamali Hills, which "abound in the great stone monuments (kistvaens and dolmens) erected by the ancient non-Aryans over their dead." The long-haired, wild-looking "Pulitars" live on jungle products, mice, or any small animals they

1. Sir William Hunter, *Indian Peoples.*

can catch, and worship ghosts and demons.[1] Another clan, the "Mudavers," "have no fixed dwellings, but wander over the innermost hills with their cattle. They shelter themselves in caves or under little leaf sheds, aud seldom remain in one spot more than a year." The thick-lipped, small-bodied "Kaders," "Lords of the Hills," "are remnants of a higher race. They live by chase, and wield some influence over the ruder forest-folk."

Kolarians and Dravidians

A striking resemblance of features denote that the Kolarians and the Dravidians were the branches of the same parent stem—the Turanians. One tribe, the Kolarians, following perhaps the course of the first emigrants, entered into India at a prehistoric period from the south-eastern side, and spread over Assam and Bengal. While a little later a fresh wave of emigration (the Dravidians) found its way into this country through the Himalayan passes on the north-west, a fragment settled in Sind and the Punjab and developed the famous Indus-Valley civilisation; and the remainder advanced towards the Gangetic plains, where they encountered the Kolarians and pushed them to their present home in the north and north-east of Deccan.

Kolarians: The Kolarians were in course of centuries sub-divided into various sub-tribes and the prominent among those, which attract our notice, are Santals, Kandhs and Ahoms.

Santals: Santals have now taken to the patient labours of agriculture and are settled as useful husbandmen, in the hills abutting on the valley of the Ganges in Lower Bengal and Chhota Nagpur in Central Provinces. But the main customs of a hunting forest tribe in them yet remain unaffected, and in their portrait of hunters we may trace the features of their ancestors. In the 1872 census they numbered five million. "The Santals," writes Sir William Hunter, "know not the cruel distinctions of Hindu castes. The Santal has no knowledge of bright and friendly gods, such as the Vedic singers of the Aryans worshipped. There are the ghosts of his forefathers, river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, mountain-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings, whom he must keep in good humour. These dwell chiefly in the ancient sal trees which shade his village. In some hamlets the people dance round every tree, so that they may not by evil chance miss the one in which the village-spirits happen to be dwelling."[2]

Under the British rule they "sank into serfs to the Brahmanic (Hindu) usurers." "To prevent disputes between them and the Hindu villagers of the lowlands," writes Sir William Hunter, "our officers set up in 1832 a boundary of stone pillars. But the Hindu money-lender soon came among them; and the simple hillmen plunged into debt. Their strong love of kindred prevented them from

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1. *Indian Peoples.*
2. Ibid.



GONDH
[Ragozin, *Vedic India*]

running away, and they sank into serfs to the Hindu usurers. The poor Santal gave over his whole crop each year to the money-lender, and was not allowed even enough food to keep his family at work. When he died, the life-long burden descended to his children; for the high sense of honour among the Santals compels a son to take upon himself his father's debts. In 1848 three entire villages threw up their clearings, and fled in despair to the jungle. In 1855 the Santals started in a body of 30,000 men, with their bows and arrows, to walk to Calcutta and lay their condition before the Governor-General. Quarrels broke out between them and the British Police; and within a week they were up in an armed rebellion. . . . which was put down with mournful bloodshed."[1]

Ahoms: These tough and warlike people were seated as the ruling power in Assam and the neighbouring areas. They worshipped ghosts, demons and fear-inspiring objects; and buried their dead. With passage of time, idol-worship also found its way in their religious practices. Khafi Khan, while describing the campaign of Mir Jumla (1661), transports to us valuable information about the religious beliefs and customs of Ahoms. "It is the established practice in that country," he writes, "that every individual pays annually one tola of gold-dust to the government of the Raja.... When the Raja of that country or a Zamindar dies they dig a large tomb or apartment in the earth, and in it they place his wives and concubines, as also his horses and equipage, carpets, vessels of gold and silver, grain, etc., all such things as are used in that country, the jewels worn by wives and nobles, perfumes and fruit, sufficient to last for several days. These they call the provisions for his journey to the next world, and when they are all collected the door is closed upon them."[2]

Dravidians: The ancient people who raised the edifice of the Indus-Valley civilisation which flourished in the Indus Valley and spread over the neighbouring regions some five thousand years ago are known to the history as Dravidians. It is the very same people who were obliged in defence of their country to encounter the Aryan invader; and their resistance earned them the punishment of extinction of their name, of their existence and of their civilisation. Many must have perished on the battlefields, and many more reduced to subjection, while a few bands escaped a similar fate by seeking the shelter of fastnesses and jungles. Those "reduced to subjection" are represented today by their teeming descendants grovelling under the name "Shudras," "low-castes" or untouchables; while the posterity of those who disdained the Aryan chains, and moved up to the safer regions of Vindhya range and beyond, inhabit the Southern India, and speak Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kanarese and other

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1. *Indian Peoples.*
2. Khafi Khan, *Aurangzeb.*

cognate[1] languages entirely different from Sanskrit.

Their features and their remarkable Turanian affinities trace the Dravidian origin to some distant steppe in the upper Asia from where they moved in successive waves of immigration into India. On their way to the Deccan the defeated Dravidians became split up in course of time into different groups, each having its own language and institutions. "In ancient times," writes Wheeler, "they (the Dravidians of Southern India) established empires which were once the centres of wealth and civilisation, but which only appear on the page of history when their political power was drawing to a close. Their political life has stagnated under Brahmanical oppression but they are already quickening into new energy under the healthy stimulus of Western culture. The Dravidian people are indeed endowed with a latent vitality which stands out in marked contrast to the lassitude of the Bengali and when they have thrown off the spiritual thraldom of the Brahmans, they will begin to play an important part in the regeneration of the Indian world."[2]

The Dravidians form the main population of Southern India, they "numbered forty-six millions in the census of 1872," and their different branches are represented by the languages they speak:

"*Tamil:* is spoken by about thirteen millions, beginning from Cape Camorin northward along the south of Travancore, and Karnatic, i.e. along the southern part of the Coromandel coast to about a hundred miles north of Madras.

"*Malayalam :* almost a dialect of Tamil, is spoken by nearly seven millions in Travancore and along the southern portion of the Malabar coast.

"*Telugu:* called for its softness the Italian of India, is spoken by about seventeen millions, from a line north of Madras, along the northern part of the Coromandel coast, or Northern Circars, and over part of the Nizam's territory.

"*Kanarese:* is spoken by rather more than eight millions in Mysore, in the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, in Kanara, and part of the Malabar coast.

"There are two semi-cultivated Dravidian dialects, viz. the Tulu, spoken in a small district of Kanara, and the Koorg or Kodagu, spoken by about one million persons in the hill districts to the west of Mysore."[3]

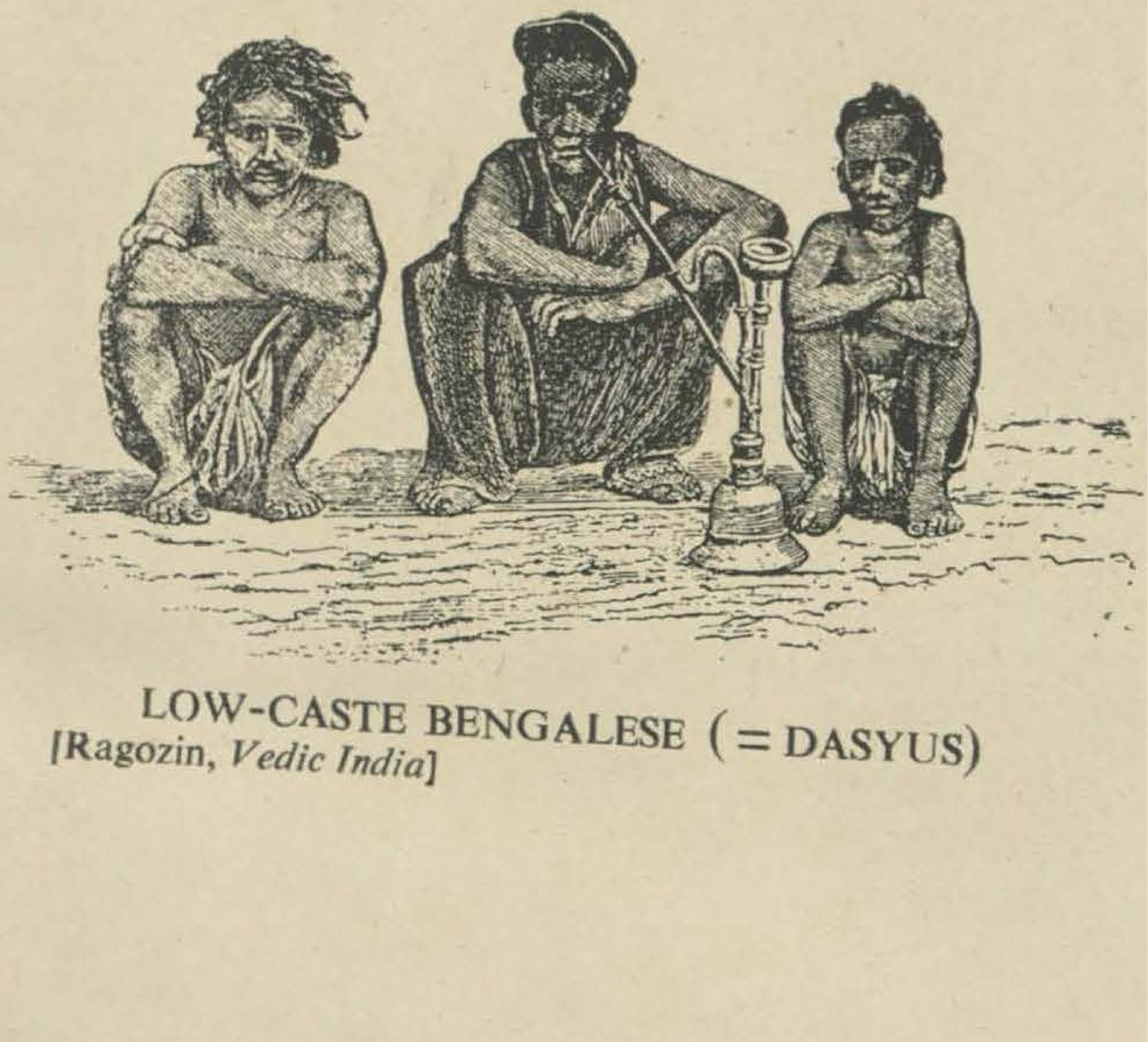
Gonds: This branch of Dravidian race forms quite a large

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1. "Inasmuch as these languages show strong affinities with the northern anguages such as Baloochi, the Ugrian, of Siberia, the Finnish, and that used in the Behistun inscription of Media, it has been conjectured that these people of the South entered India from north-east and were gradually driven to their present habitat by the Aryan invaders." R. W. Frazer, *British India* (Story of the Nations). The information yielded by recent excavations at 'Muhunjo-Daro' (Sind) and Harappa (Punjab) have lent an invaluable support to this view. The human skulls unearthed in particular bear the same features as those of the Dravidian people of the South.

2. J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*

3. Ibid. Also see Appendix I.



LOW-CASTE BENGALESE (= DASYUS)
[Ragozin, *Vedic India*]

portion of the population in the Central Provinces; in certain regions their number increases to one-half of the inhabitants. Many have taken to the patient labours of husbandry; but the wilder tribes still adhere to the forest, and live by chase. "Some of them use," writes Sir William Hunter, "within the present generation, flint points for their arrows. They wield bows of great strength, which they hold with their feet, while they draw the string with both hands. They can send an arrow right through the body of a deer. The 'Maris' fly from their grass-built huts on the approach of a stranger."[1]

Kandhs: This Dravidian tribe, about two million (in 1872) strong, are spread over the steppe and forest-covered ranges which rise from the Orissa coast. "Up to 1835," writes Sir William Hunter, "when the English introduced milder laws, the Kandhs punished murder by blood-revenge. The kinsmen of the dead man were bound to kill the slayer, unless appeased by a payment of grain or cattle. Anyone who wounded another had to maintain the sufferer until he recovered from his hurt. Disputes were settled by duals, or by deadly combats between armed bands, or by the ordeal of boiling oil or heated iron, or by taking a solemn oath on an ant-hill or on a tiger's claw, or on a lizard's skin."

Bhils: The Bhils, a wild people, yet secluded from civilisation, dwell in the Vindhya Hills, from Udaipur far north of the Narbada river, southwards to the Khandesh Agency in the Bombay Presidency. "They wander about with their flocks and herds, their wives and families, their arms and belongings through the highlands, and eke out a sparse livelihood by chase and natural products of the forest. In the area that formed Udaipur State, they are settled in little hamlets, each homestead being built on a separate hillock, so as to render it impossible for their enemies to surprise a whole village at once. A single family may be seized, but the shouts which it raises give the alarm to all the rest, and in a few minutes the war-cry spreads from hill to hill, and swarms of half-naked savages rush together in arms to beat off the intruder."[2]

Piracy has been the chief occupation of Bhils; they were terror of the neighbouring countries; and plundered far and wide. In 1818 the Government of the East India Company led an expedition against them, but it failed miserably. "Afterwards," writes Sir William Hunter, "Sir James Outram made friends with them by means of feasts and tiger-hunts. Nine Bhil warriors, who were his constant companions in tracking the beasts of chase, formed the beginning of a regular Bhil corps which numbered 600 men in 1827. They were afterwards freely employed as policemen and treasury-guards throughout a large tract in the Khandesh Political Agency."[3]

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1. Sir William Hunter, *Indian Peoples.*
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Nagas: The Rig-Veda,[1] the Mahabharata[2] and the Ramayana[3] repeatedly draw our attention to Nagas as theDravidians living in "crowded cities" and "possessing beautiful women," "exhaustless treasures" and a "high taste for beauty." They, as we learn from these resources, lived under an organised government and were doubtless a civilised people. "Indeed, if any inference can be drawn from the epic legends, it would be," writes J. Talboys Wheeler, "that, prior to the Aryan conquest, the Naga Rajas were the ruling powers who had cultivated the arts of luxury to an extraordinary degree and yet succeeded in maintaining a protracted struggle against the Aryan invaders." References to the ancient Naga empires abound in Aryan stories, and the Buddhist and Brahmanical legends. The clearance of the jungle at Indraprastha, a Naga country, was effected after the expulsion of the Nagas. One of the heroes of the Mahabharata had an amour with the daughter of a Naga Raja; the Aryan conquests of Prayaga, and other parts in India, are mythically described "as a great slaughter of serpents."

The snake-worship of the Nagas, which prevailed among the Dravidian populations, has formed a powerful stimulus to religious thought from times immemorial. The serpent, with its poisoned fang, its association with the phallus, and its fabled homes in the underworld, seems so suggestive of all that is terrible, sensational, and mysterious in humanity. Be that as it may, it is certain that snake-worship, utterly non-Aryan as it is, made a profound impression on the white invaders (Aryans) so much so that, in the course of time, an Aryan snake-god, Ariaka, was invented.

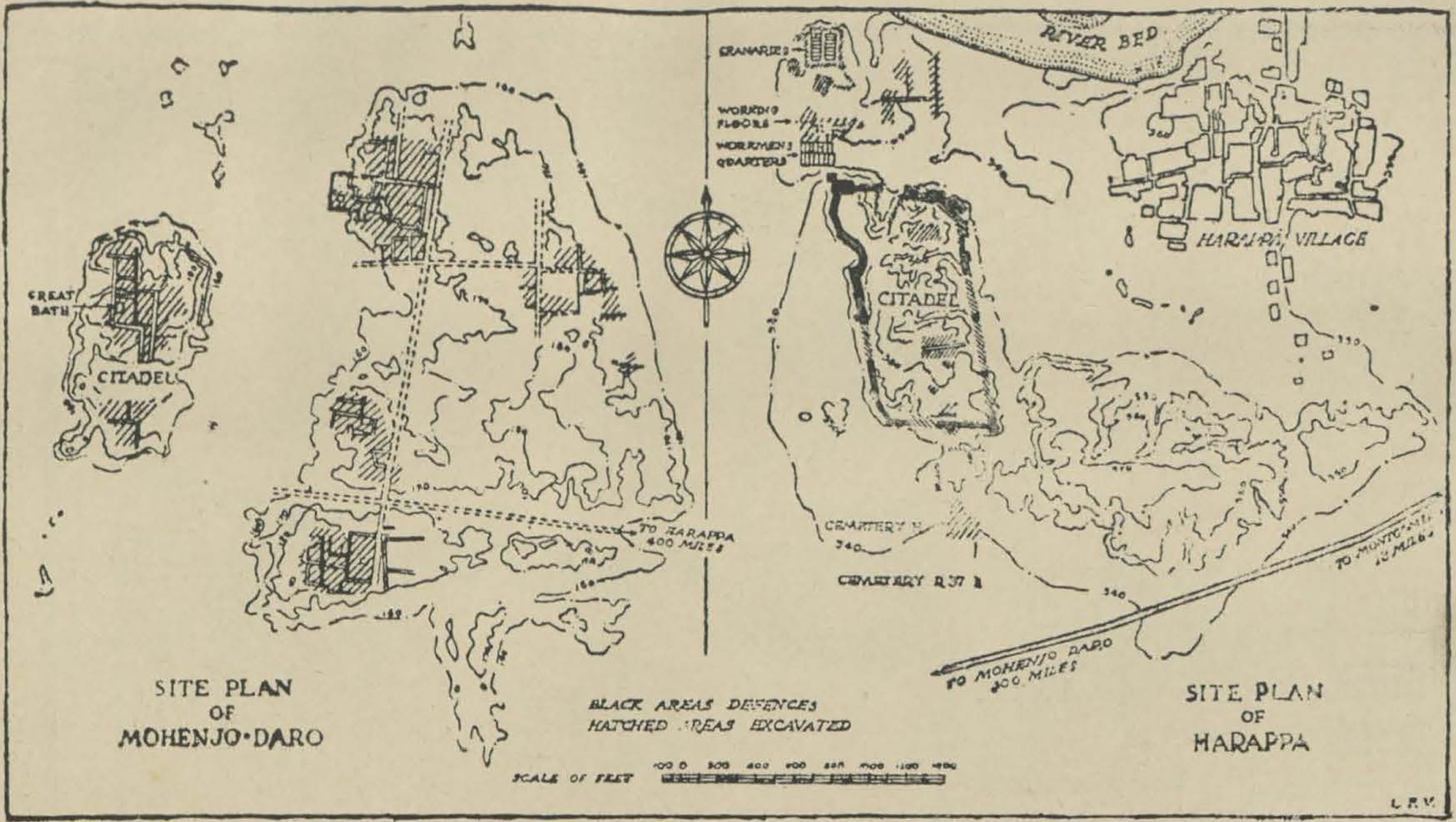
The Naga civilisation has left deep impressions on the soil of India, and to this day, traces of the Nagas are to be found in numerous sculptures of the old serpent gods, and in the nomenclature of towns and villages from Nagpur in the Deccan to Tanjanagarum, the modern Tanjore, in the south-east coast of the remote Peninsula.

The Naga traditions are obscure in the extreme point; but they point to the existence of an ancient Naga empire in Central India, having its capital in the modern town of Nagpur. Prior to the Aryan invasion, Naga kings exercised an imperial power over the greater part of the Jumna Valley, northern and eastern India. Naga revival, in A. D. 230, established Naga power once again in the Jumna Valley, pushed the Northern Scythians towards the northwest borderland of India, and struck their importance on the page of history; and the wars with Chandragupta I distinguished their

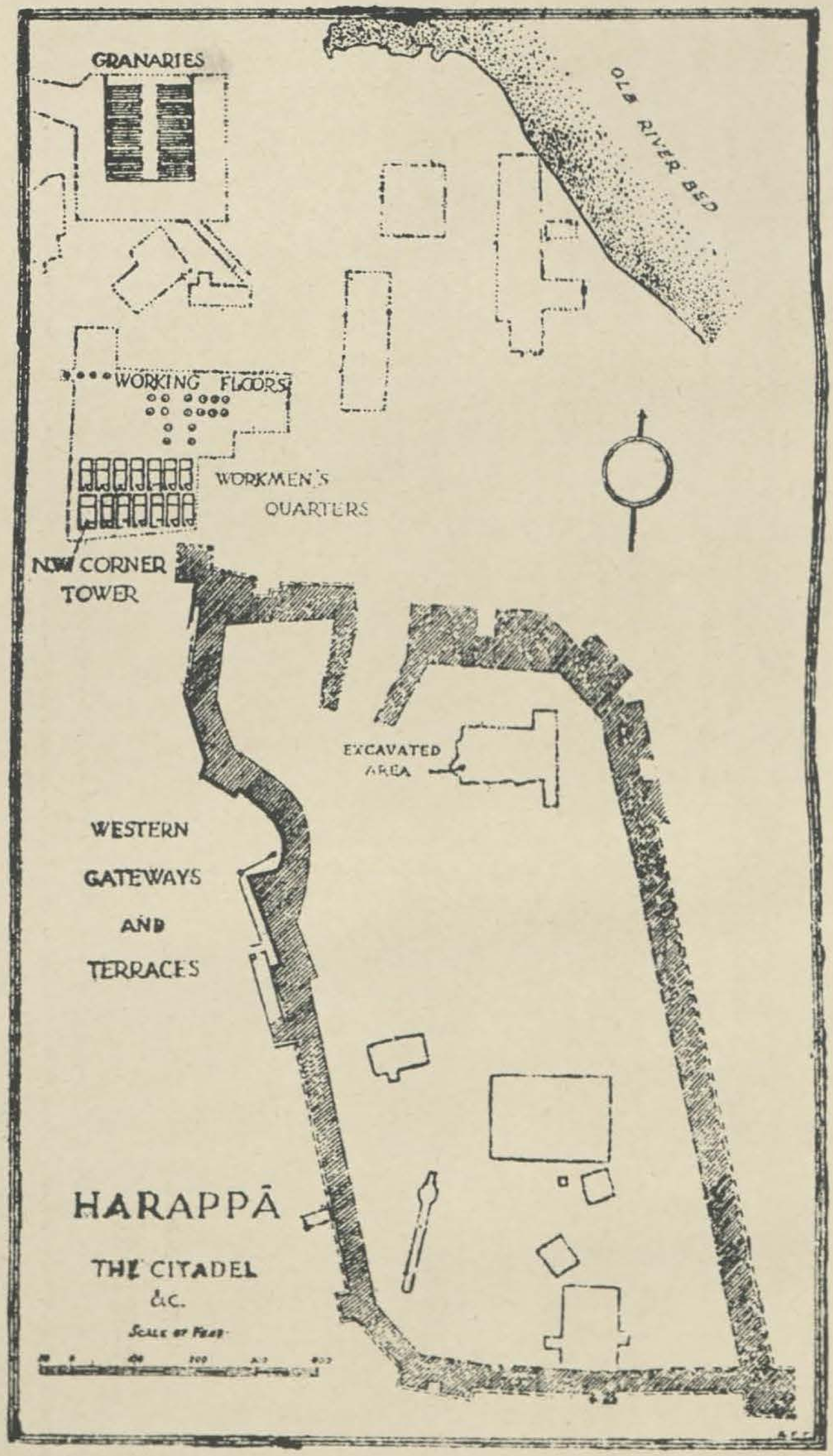
1. *Rig-Veda.* It is a very old collection of 1,017 short poems chiefly addressed to the gods, and forms the great literary memorial of the early Aryan settlement in the Punjab. European scholars have inferred from astronomical data that it must have been composed in about 1400 B.C.

2. *Mahabarata* is the first epic. A great collection of the Brahmanic legends in verse, some of them as old as the Vedic hymns. The main story deals with a period not later than 1200 B.C.

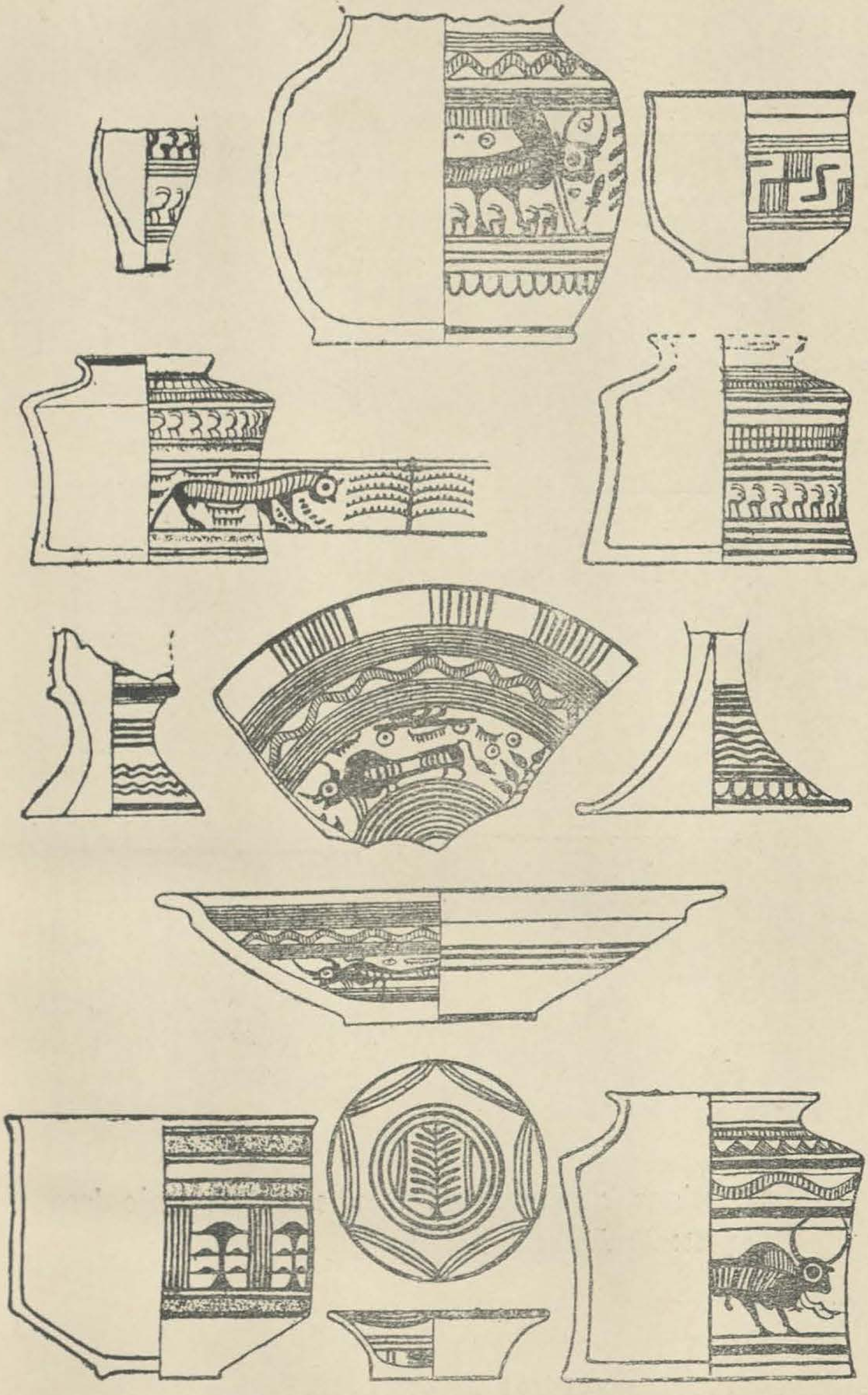
3. *Ramayana*—the second epic of the Brahmanic epoch. It recounts the advance of the Aryans into Southern India; its main story refers to a period losely estimated at about 1000 B.C.



[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

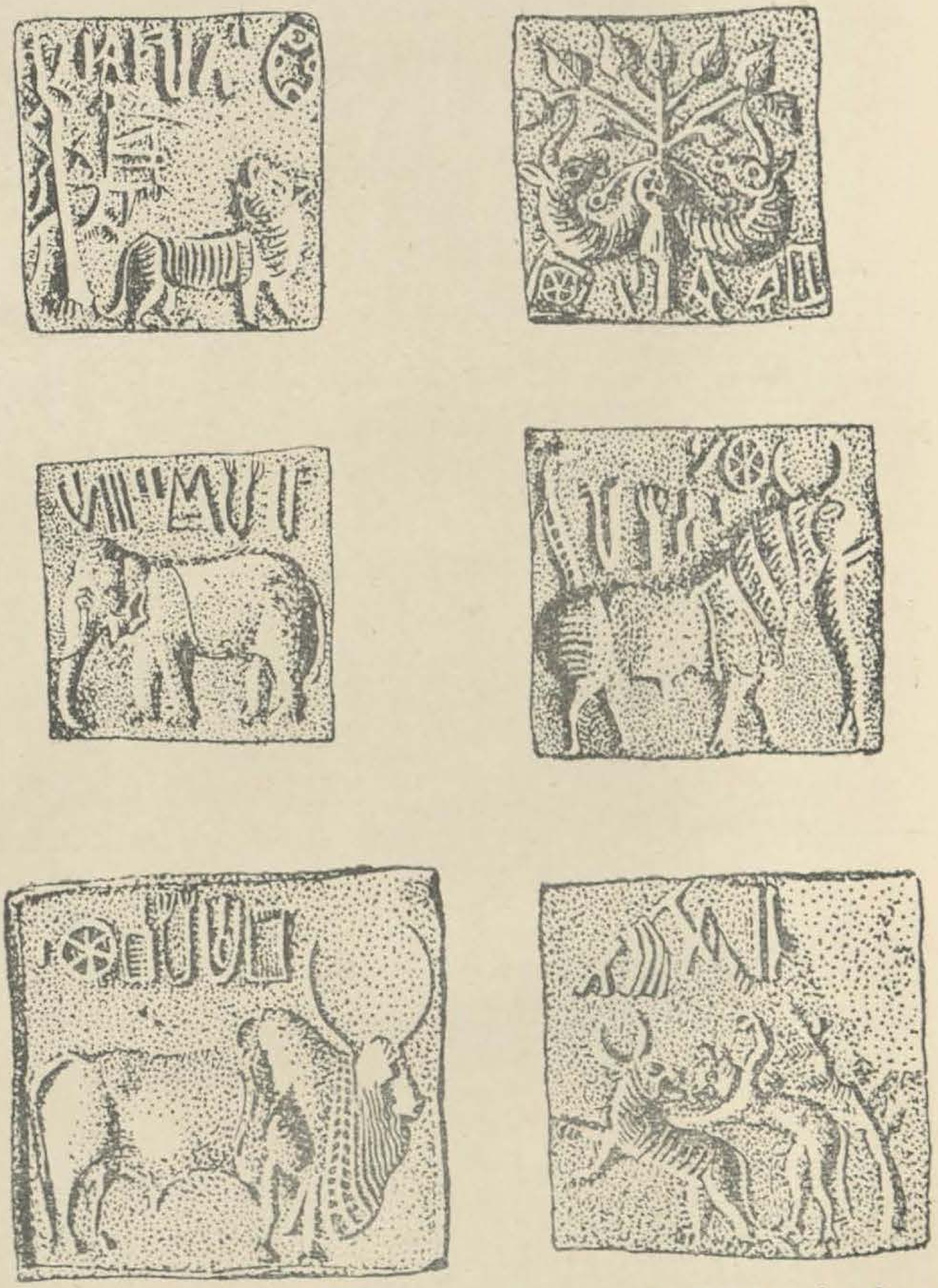


[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

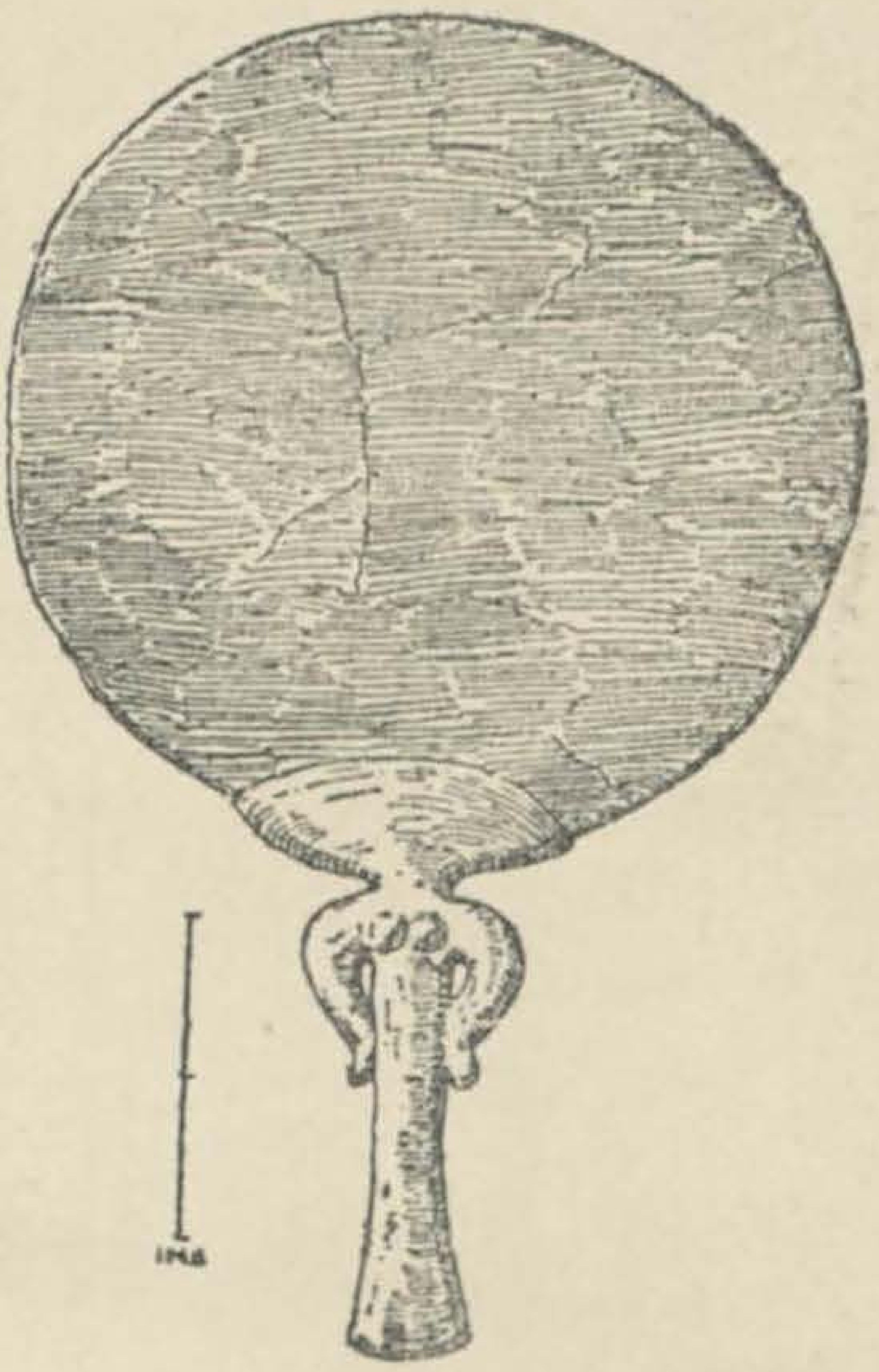


[Ghundai culture : Painted and incised bowls and vases]

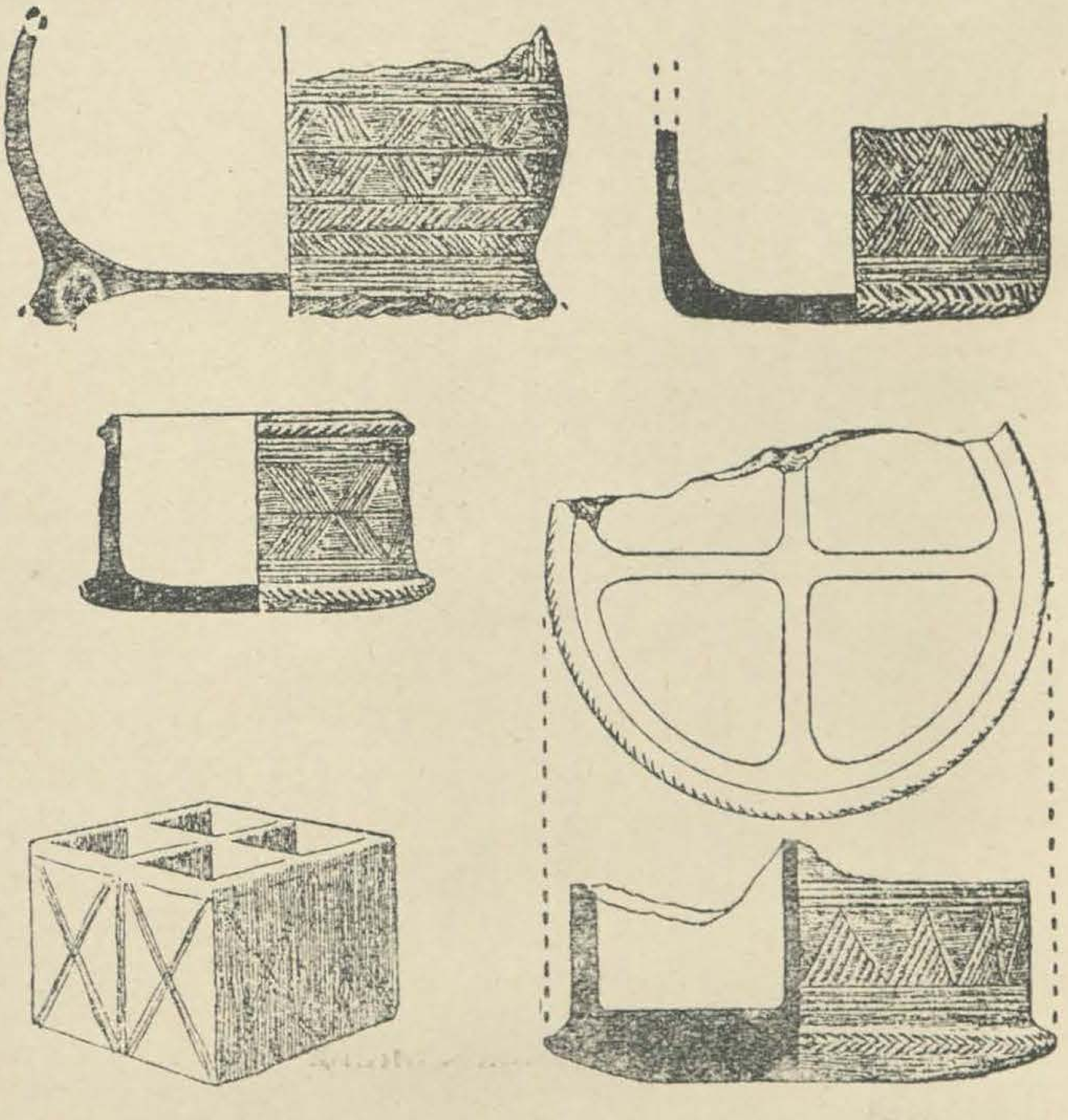
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Impressions from inscribed stamp-seals, Mohunjo-dero
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Bronze Mirror, Kulli Culture.
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Incised stone vessels, Kul'i Culture
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

headstrong valour. Nagas were enrolled as trustworthy soldiers in the Mughal army; they formed the formidable left wing of Shujaud-Doula's army in the famous battle of Buxar. They disappear from the active scene with the rise of the British power in India.

Descendants of the great old stock still live in eastern Bengal, and beyond the north-east frontier under the names of Nagas and Nagbansis. Except for external affairs and defence, they were independent under the British rule in India and Burma. These Naga people of Assam borders are described as "Turanians of a low type, and retain no traces of their origin beyond rude legends of their descent from some serpent ancestor, and vague memories of having immigrated from Nagpur."[1]

The Aryan Invaders

Up to 1920, our scanty knowledge about the Dravidians, who encountered the Aryan invaders, was derived from the malignant expressions (*Dasyus*, *Dasas*, *Danavas*, *Daityas*, *Asnosas*, *Rakhshasas*) used in referring to them in the songs, sung by the victorious Aryans and compiled in the famous work, the Rig-Veda, the tales, the legends and the traditions alleged to have been left behind by the Aryan conquerors; and the interpretations put and the literature published by the Brahman. The world easily submitted to the Brahman's hostile prejudices and for ages sincerely regarded the unfortunate Dravidians as the objects of sheer disgust and aversion, and as the horrid demons who justly deserved either to be exterminated or enslaved by the Aryan Fire and Sword[2]; and the believing minds eagerly embraced the untruths of the Vedas and revered the Aryan as a model of civilised man who established a Utopian state in India and revealed to the afflicted humanity a new system of perfection. But the solid information now yielded to the spade of archaeologists, at Harappa (Punjab), Muhunjo-Daro, Tharro Hills, Chanhudero (Sind), Rana Chundai, Zhob (Baluchistan) and various other places, has rendered naked the utter falsity of the Vedic version and of the Brahmanic assertions, and blasted those inferences and beliefs. The excavations at Harappa, Muhunjo-Daro and other places have revealed that the Dravidians were a great people who lived in towns and cities, had established polite and powerful empires and developed a great civilisation. The use of bricks, incised stone vessels, ornamental vases, paints and dyes, beautiful ornaments, bronze mirrors, jewellery and painted pottery; their public baths, well-laid-out streets and buildings, inscribed stamp seals, which attest an advanced taste and an advanced mode of life, show that the Dravidians lived a highly civilised municipal life; pursued their useful occupations and enjoyed the fruits of their industry and wealth in the magnificence of public and private life. They were acquainted with letters,

1. J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages*.
2. Patrick Carleton, *Buried Empires*, pp. 138-139.

reading and writing but their peculiar script is still undeciphered.[1]

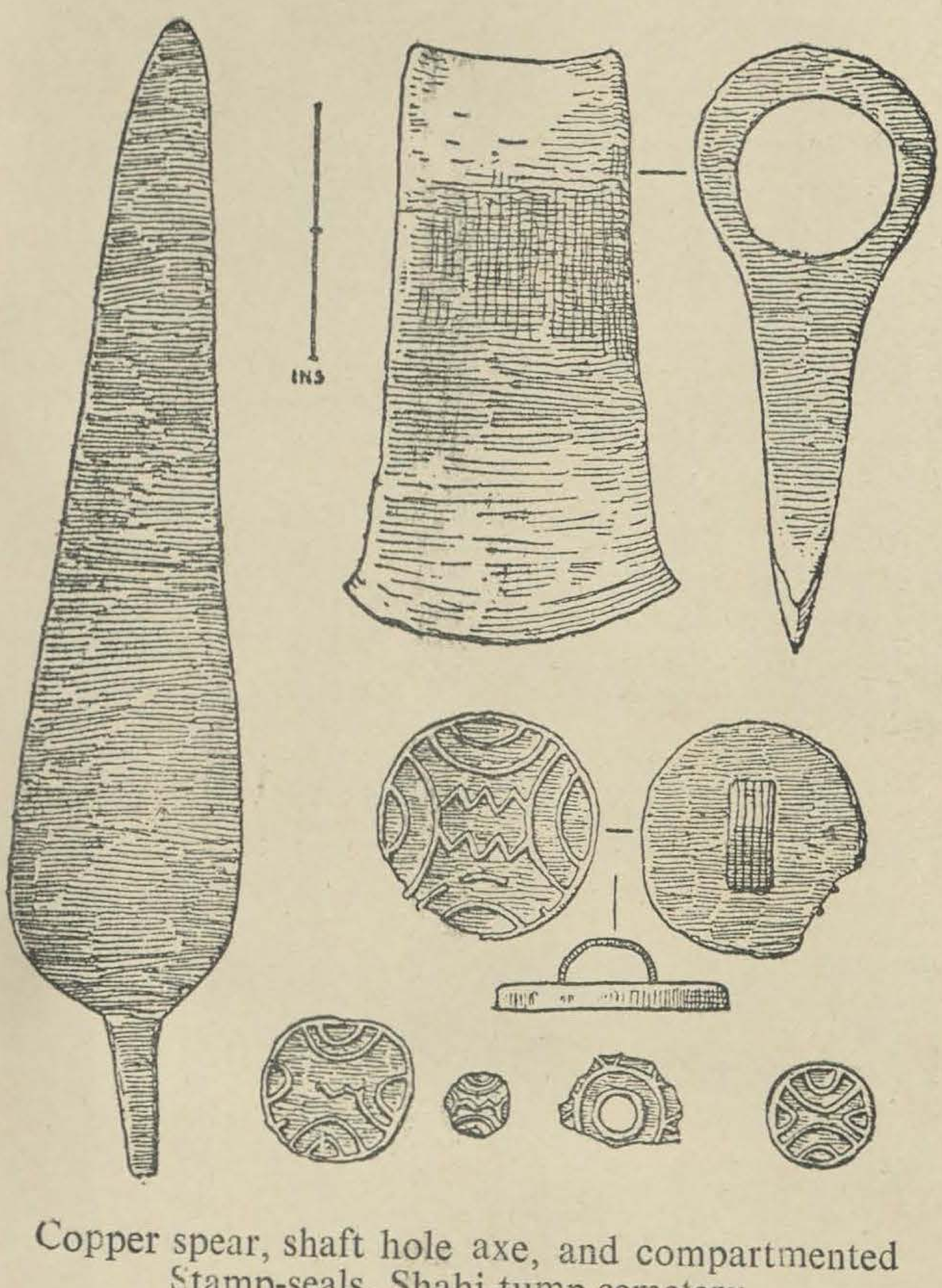
They cultivated farms and reared up herds of cattle which were much coveted by the invaders. "In the *Rigveda*," writes Professor Piggott, "we see (or rather accidentally glimpse) this conquest (Aryan conquest) from the Aryan point of view alone: they are the heroes, and scant tribute is paid to their contemptible opponents, more skilled in the arts of peace than in those of warfare."[2] By the discovery of the Harappa civilisation, "the situation is, in fact, almost reversed, for the conquerors are seen to be less civilised than the conquered." The Aryans were a "people who had never known a city"[3]; and when compared with the Dravidians, they were but a nation of savage barbarians who, exercising the profession of robbery under the honourable names of war and conquest, were determined to obliterate and did obliterate everything non-Aryan.

The recent excavations, referred to above, have also made it definite that the Dravidians, amidst their peaceful life, were not careless about the dangers of war, and safety of their people and their empires. The fort that has been dug out at Harappa confirms their prudence and vigilence against the aggression of an enemy. But unfortunately for them, they were ignorant of the tremendous discovery of iron and its implements of destruction; they possessed forts and the art of fortifying their towns, but no iron weapons which their enemy, the Aryans, commanded. The Dravidian implements of war, so far unearthed include axes, spears, daggers, maces, slings, bows and arrows of copper, bronze and stone, but no iron weapons. Shields, helmets, or any other defensive armour are conspicuous by their absence. They also were "fully cognizant of wheeled vehicles," but do not "seem to have made use of them in warfare."

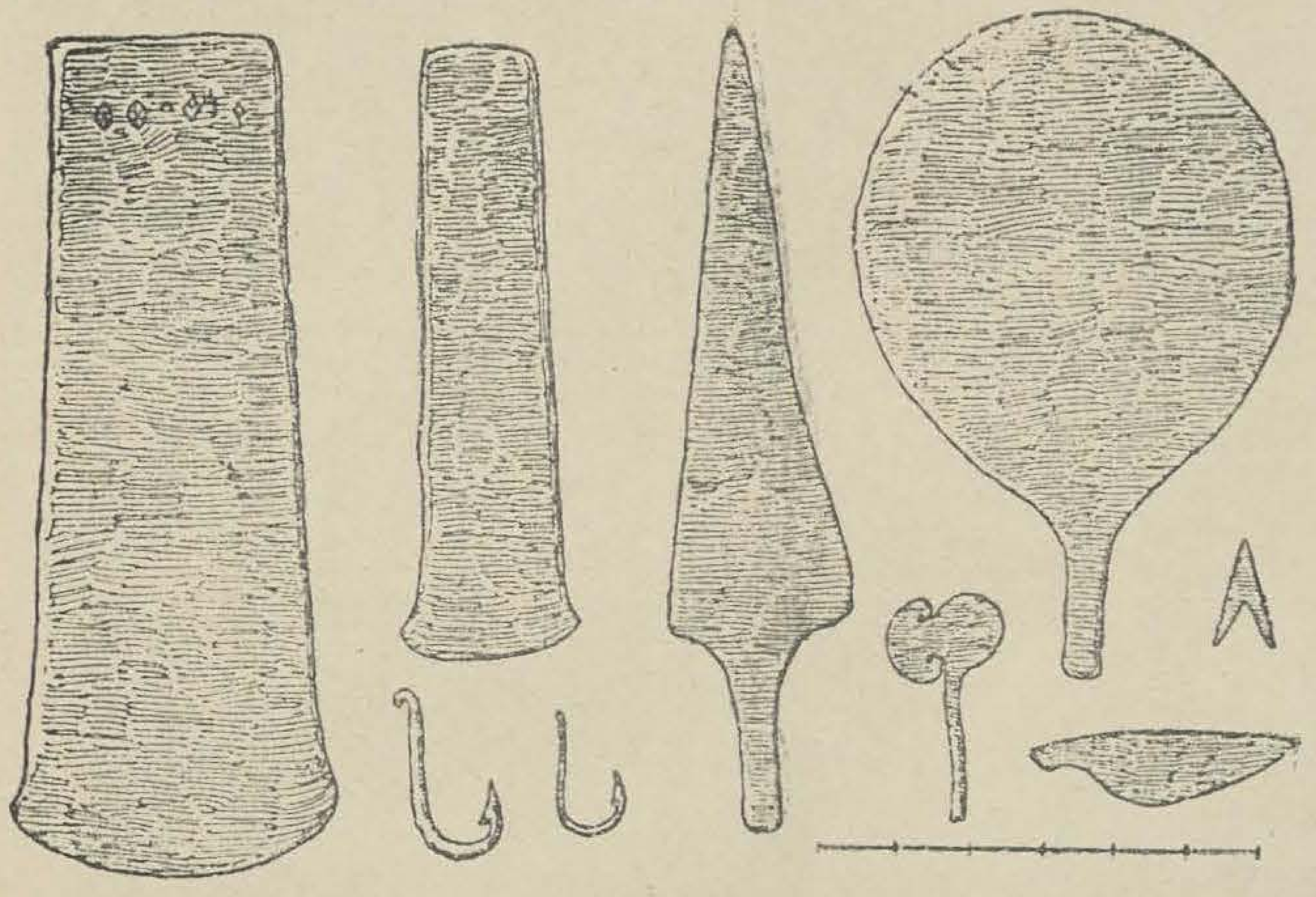
Extirpation of Dravidians and Sack of Indus-Valley Civilisation

In About 1850-1700 B.C., we are informed, the North-Western India was agitated by a furious tempest—the irruption of Aryans—an unknown monstrous race, acquainted with manufacture of iron weapons and use of mailcoats and other defensive armour, who broke through the unguarded passes of the "Sulaiman Hills," spread slaughter and devastation on the fruitful face of the Indus Valley and drove away with the spoil and cattle of the flaming villages. Raid after raid and invasion after invasion took place. Their iron weapons, sword, armour and helmets, strange and unknown things to India, caused a great alarm in the country. But valour of the Dravidians, which was no wise inferior to that of the invaders, checked the progress of their advance and the fortifications of Dravidian towns and cities repelled the Aryan attacks. Several trials of strength and power engaged the two nations into dreadful battles; torrents of blood were spilt; but neither the invaders were dislodged nor the patriotic Dravi-

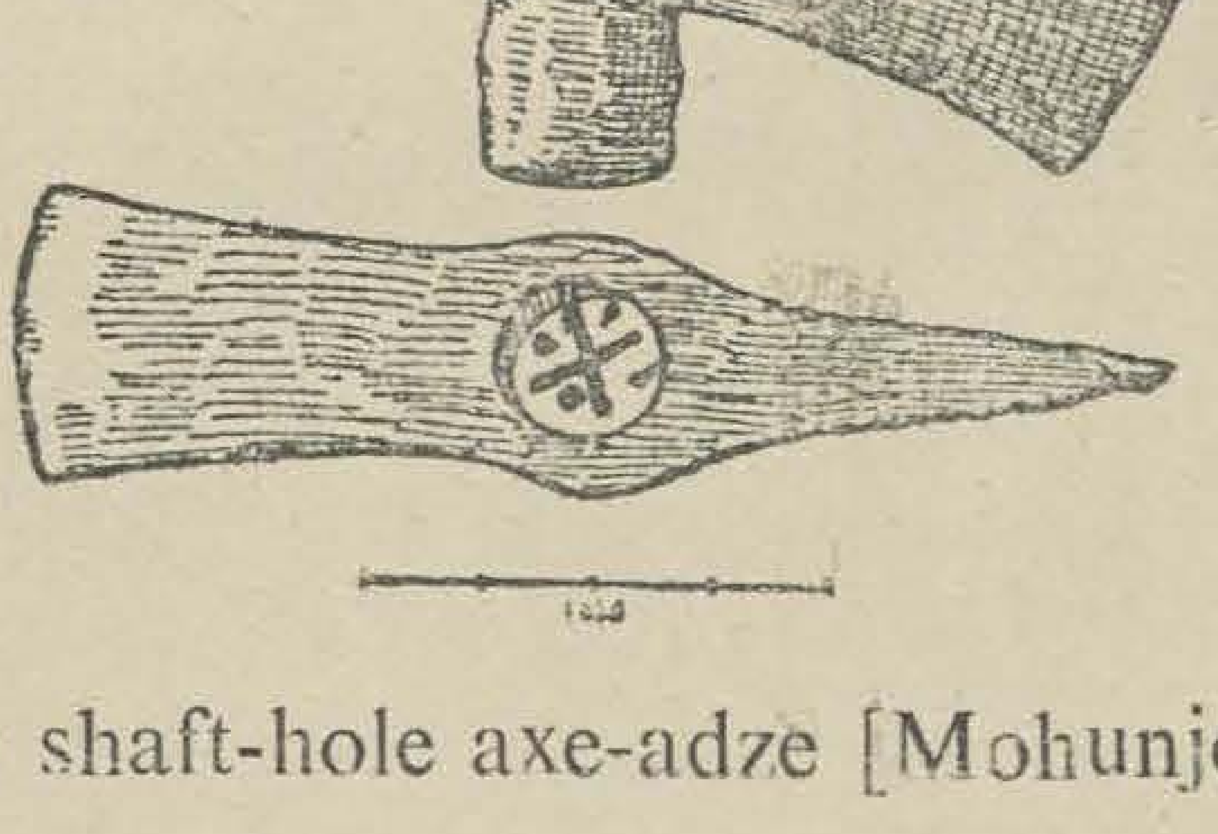
1. Prof. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India.*
2. Ibid., p. 258.
3. Ibid., p. 263.



Copper spear, shaft hole axe, and compartmented Stamp-seals, Shahi-tump cemetery.
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

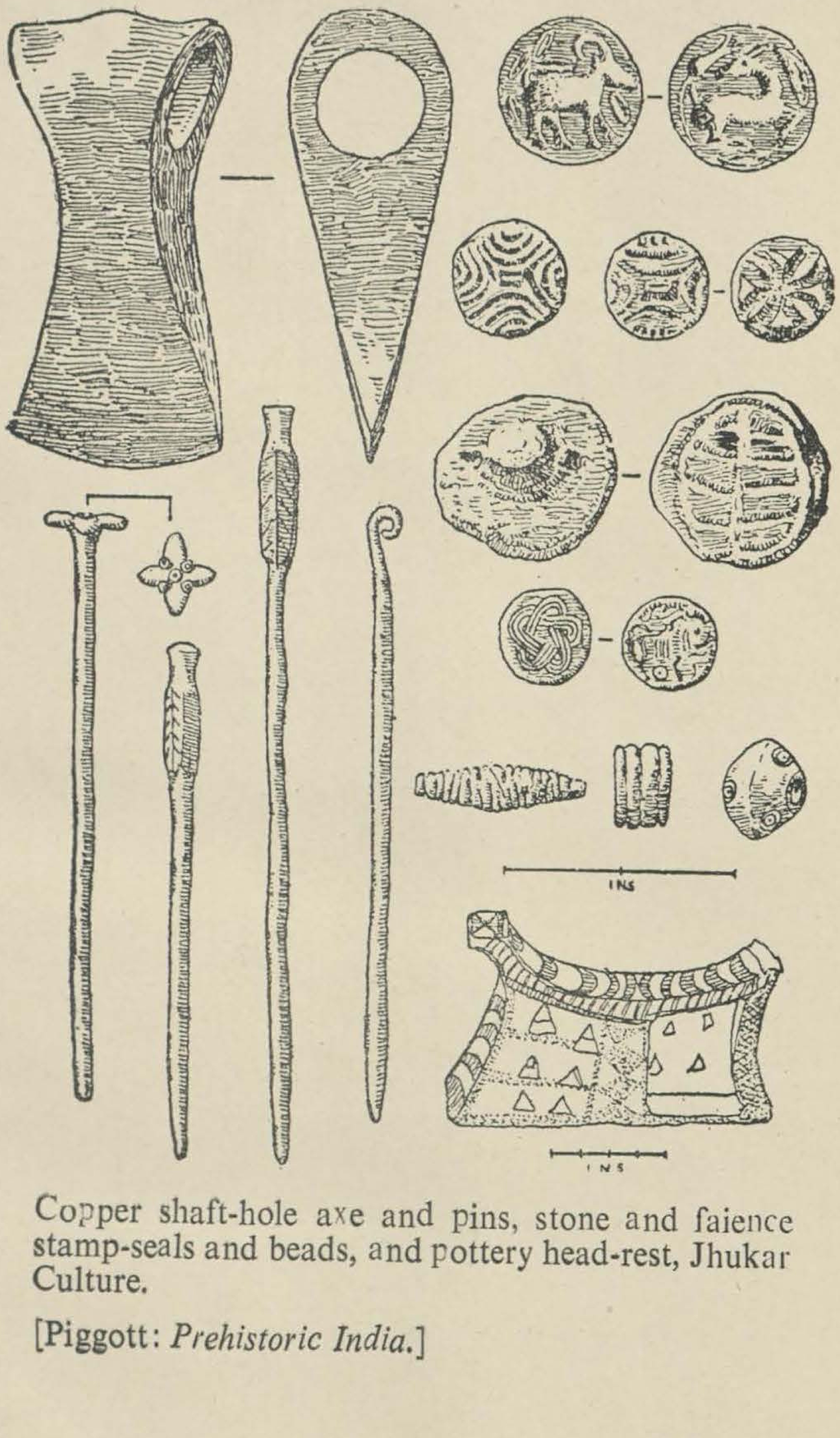


Copper and bronze tools [Harappa culture.
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



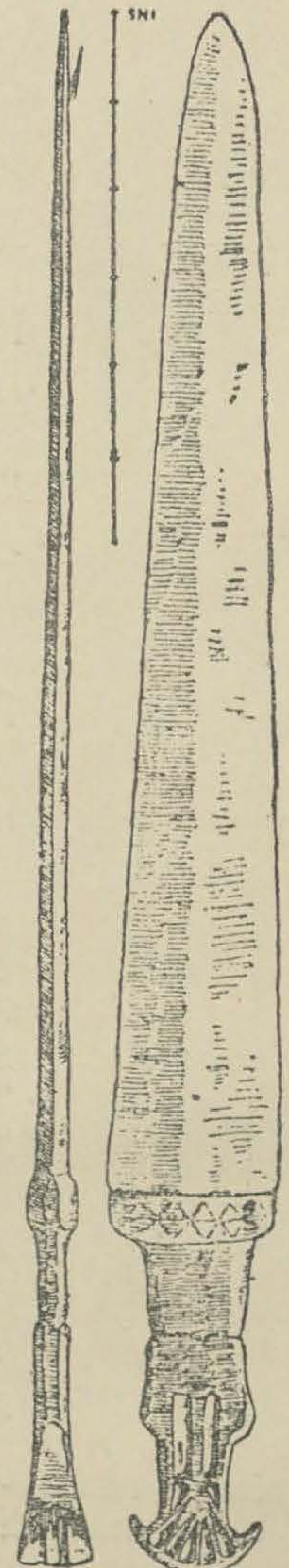
Copper shaft-hole axe-adze [Mohunjo-dero]

[Piggott: *Prehisto ic India.*]



Copper shaft-hole axe and pins, stone and faience stamp-seals and beads, and pottery head-rest, Jhukar Culture.

[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Bronze sword from Rajanpur (Punjab)

[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

dians were obliged to confess in the insufficiency of their means or inefficiency of their arms. If the Aryans had confidence in their deadly weapons, the Indians (Dravidians) possessed headstrong valour. The obstinate struggle and the formidable resistance offered, at times, benumbed the Aryan courage; the frightened invaders were bewildered to imagine the Indian defenders as "giants" and "demons" and repeatedly implored with fervent prayers, as the Rig-Veda evidences, the assistance of earth and Heaven. But the aptness of soil for every species of grain, the luxuriance of the vegetation, the abundance of game, the innumerable beehives deposited in the hollows of old trees and the cavities of rocks, the size of cattle and the temperate climate which displayed the liberality of Nature in the Dravidian provinces, presented far too tempting a prospect to the avarice of the invaders; and no danger, however great, now could restrain their temptation and deter the Aryan invaders from pursuing "the fairer prospect" that was opened to their hopes and efforts. Many of the barbarian tribes who had long hovered on the frontier, after long vicissitudes of mutual calamities, gained a footing and settled themselves on the banks of the Indus within the borders of the Dravidian empire; many more poured in under the banner of plunder and an age-long desperate conflict ensued.

The destruction of Muhunjo-Daro shows: Long sieges eventually invited famine and its inseparable companion, the pestilence, in the fortified city; while fresh emigrations strengthened the numbers of the enemy. Instead of sustaining the siege any further, the Dravidians, driven to the desperate resolution of "Do or die," threw open their gates, arranged their forces in the plain and challenged the invaders to a decisive battle. The Aryans welcomed the eagerly sought-for opportunity and both the sides made their preparations for the dangerous event. The Dravidians, inspired with patriotism to save their country, their cities, their homes and hearths and fired with the desperation to defend their honour and their women, singing their traditional songs of war, fearlessly marched amidst tremendous sound of drums and trumpets to the battlefield. While the enemy, clad in mailcoats, wearing helmets, armed with bows, arrows, swords and battle-axes, drunk with their intoxicating "Soma" juice and confident of their iron weapons, arranged their lines with barbarous joy. Both the sides fought with incomparable impetus. The want of iron weapons on the Dravidians' part was compensated by their fierce and desperate courage. The chiefs and soldiers were alike animated by virtues of their ancestors whom they certainly equalled in bravery and discipline. Their generous emulation was supported by love of glory which prompted them to contend fearlessly with fire and sword and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death as their refuge against flight and infamy. The celebrated leaders, brave and distinguished officers, fell and perished on the field. The Dravidian King, being himself a valiant hero, fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His attendants presented him with a fleetest animal that

would soon, in case of defeat, have carried him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to keep back and reserve his important life for the future service of the country and the people. But he declared his unshakable resolve to win or find his death in the battlefield. His body was mangled under a mountain of the slain. His death and disappearance cast a sudden gloom over the leader-less Dravidian forces: while the stupendous noise of the invad-ers' trumpets announced victory over the "Demons." Dismayed by this unexpected turn of misfortune, the Dravidian forces could not maintain the ground, were routed and slaughtered with unrelenting fury. The hatred, reigning in the breasts of the victorious Aryans, ordered a general massacre of the Dravidian populations and delivered their towns and villages to flames. Every spot which could promise spoil or settlement was ransacked. The arson was country-wide and the slaughter beyond all imagination. The country resembled the bleeding skin of a slaughtered victim.

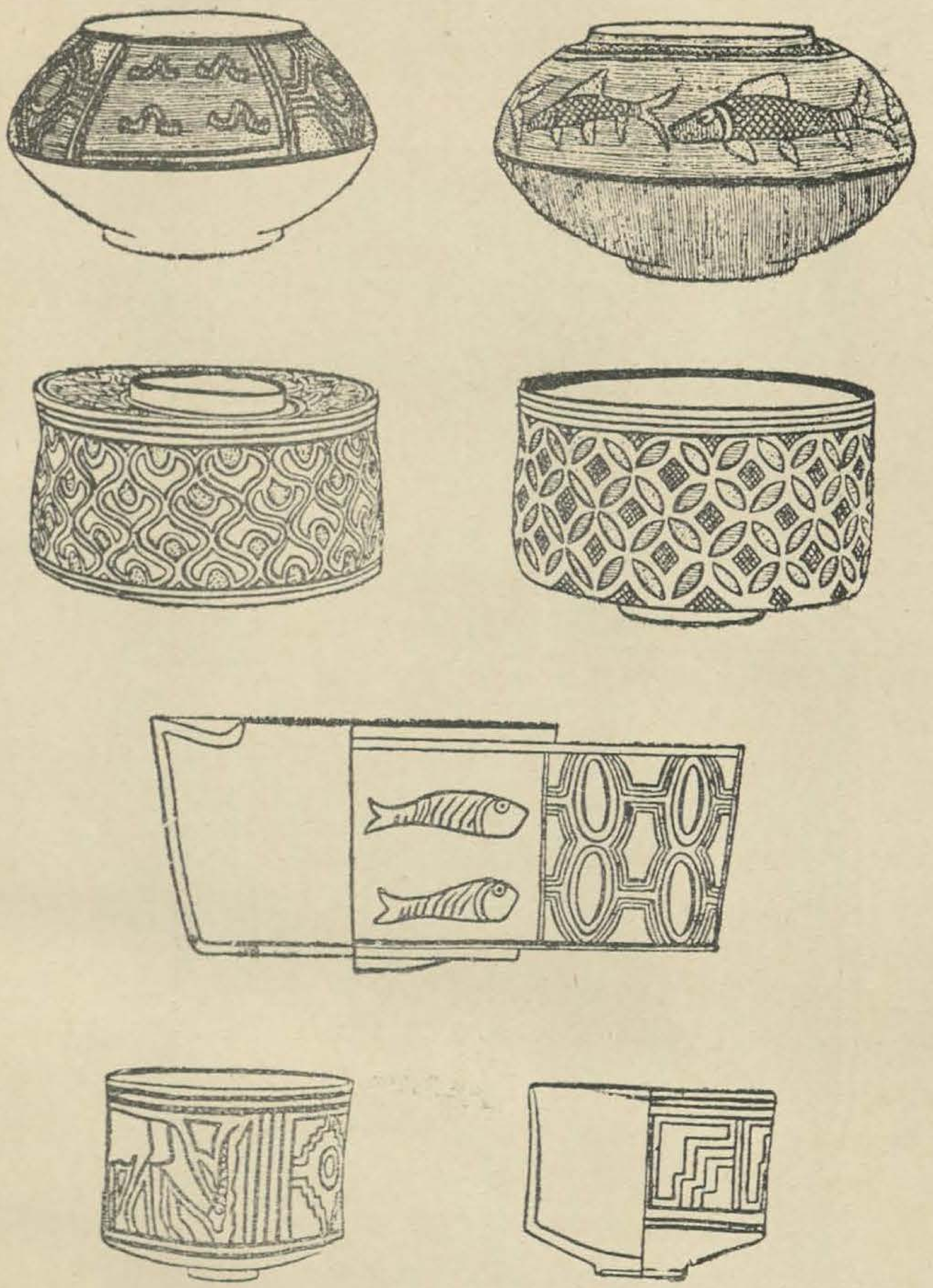
A similar or more dreadful was the fate of Harappa[1] and the same scenes of slaughter, of conflagration, and of destructions were repeated in other towns and villages.

The memories of those battles and wars are buried beneath a jungle of legend. The Rig-Veda alludes[2] to that terrific conflict as a war of gods against demons; the invaders are described as the Aryan "*devatas,*" "the deities of fire and light," the fair-complexioned and tall-statured heroes from the high lands of ancient Persia; while the enemies whom the Aryans crushed are scornfully portrayed as the "Earth-born demons of ancient India," "the black-skinned barbarians," "noseless giants," "man-eaters," "dragons," "ghosts," etc., and con-temptuously referred to under various abusive names such as *Dasyus, Daityas, Asuras, Rakhshasas* and *Nagas.* At some places they are abused as godless demons and cannibals while at others their gods are condemned as "black gods and ghosts." "Thou (*Indra*) hast made the Dasa's magic powerless against the Rishi. Destroying the *Dasyus,* Indra protected the Aryan[3] colour," gratefully proclaims one poet. "Indra," says another, "protected in battle the Aryan worshipper; he subdued the lawless, he conquered the black skin."

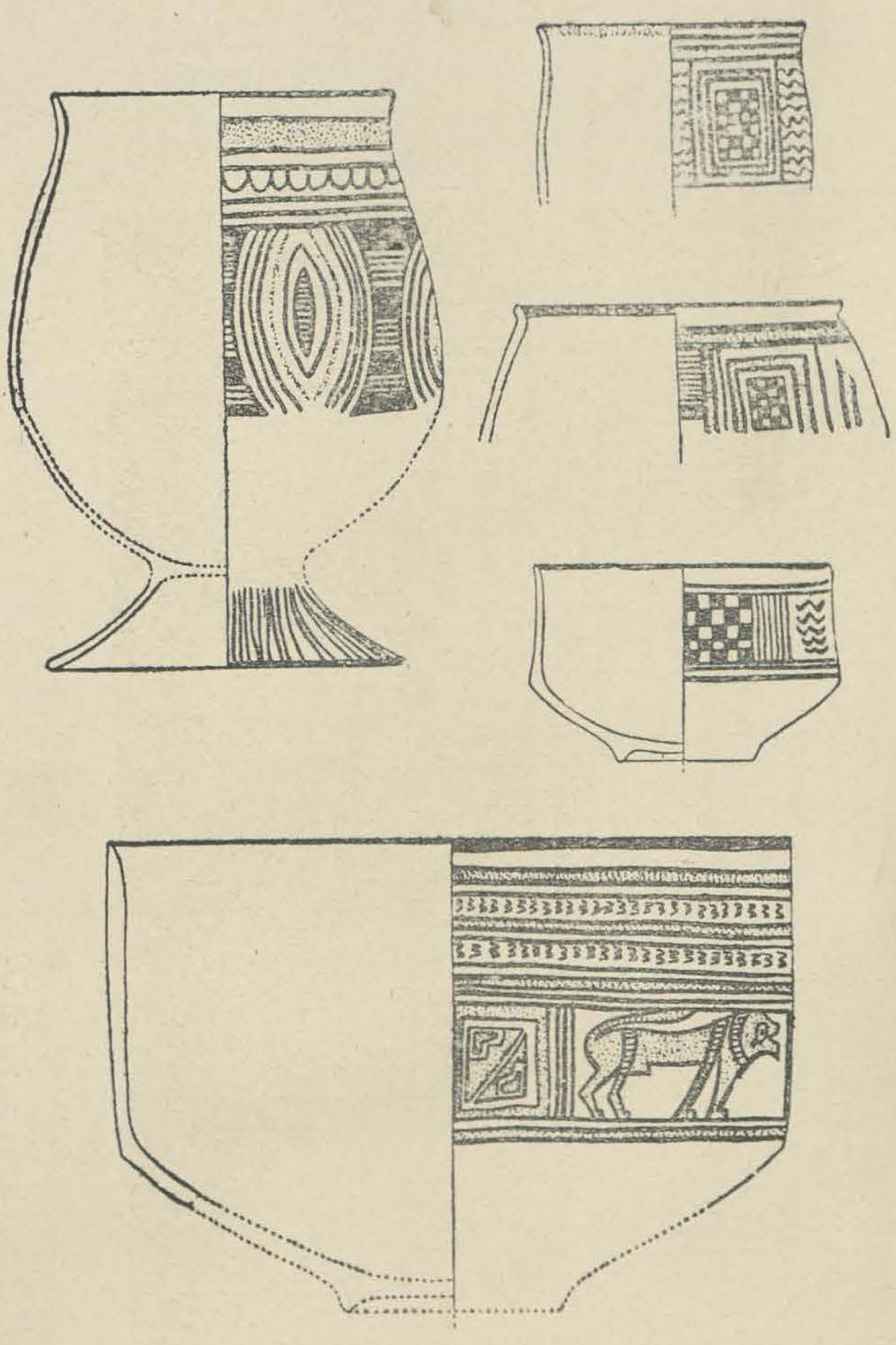
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1. See Prof. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India.*
2. J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*
3. "Their own traditions (preserved in myths and sagas by their descendants) tell us a little, but only a little, about the older inhabitants whom they found al-ready settled in the land, and with whom they waged cruel and unceasing war. These people, we learn, were small, dark-skinned and flat-faced, in contrast to the tall, big-nosed and light-complexioned newcomers. They spoke a non-Aryan tongue, and the Aryans frequently applied to them the epithet mridhrvachah, 'hostile-talking,' which we may compare with the Greek name for foreigners, bar-barvi, 'jargon-talkers,' 'stammerers.' The ordinary Sanskrit (i.e. Aryan) names for these folk were Panis and Dasas or Dasyus, and there is plenty of evidence that the Aryans regarded them with a mixture of contempt and fear, as creatures to be either exterminated or enslaved. *Dasi* (the faminine of *Dasa*), indeed, soon became the ordinary word for a female slave.

"In ancient epics, the *Dasas* often appear not as men at all but as malignant demons. They are said to have inhabited great and wealthy cities and to have been skilled in various arts. By their magic they could raise the dead. They had



Polychrome Nal ware (red paint stippled, yellow horizontal and blue vertical shading)
[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



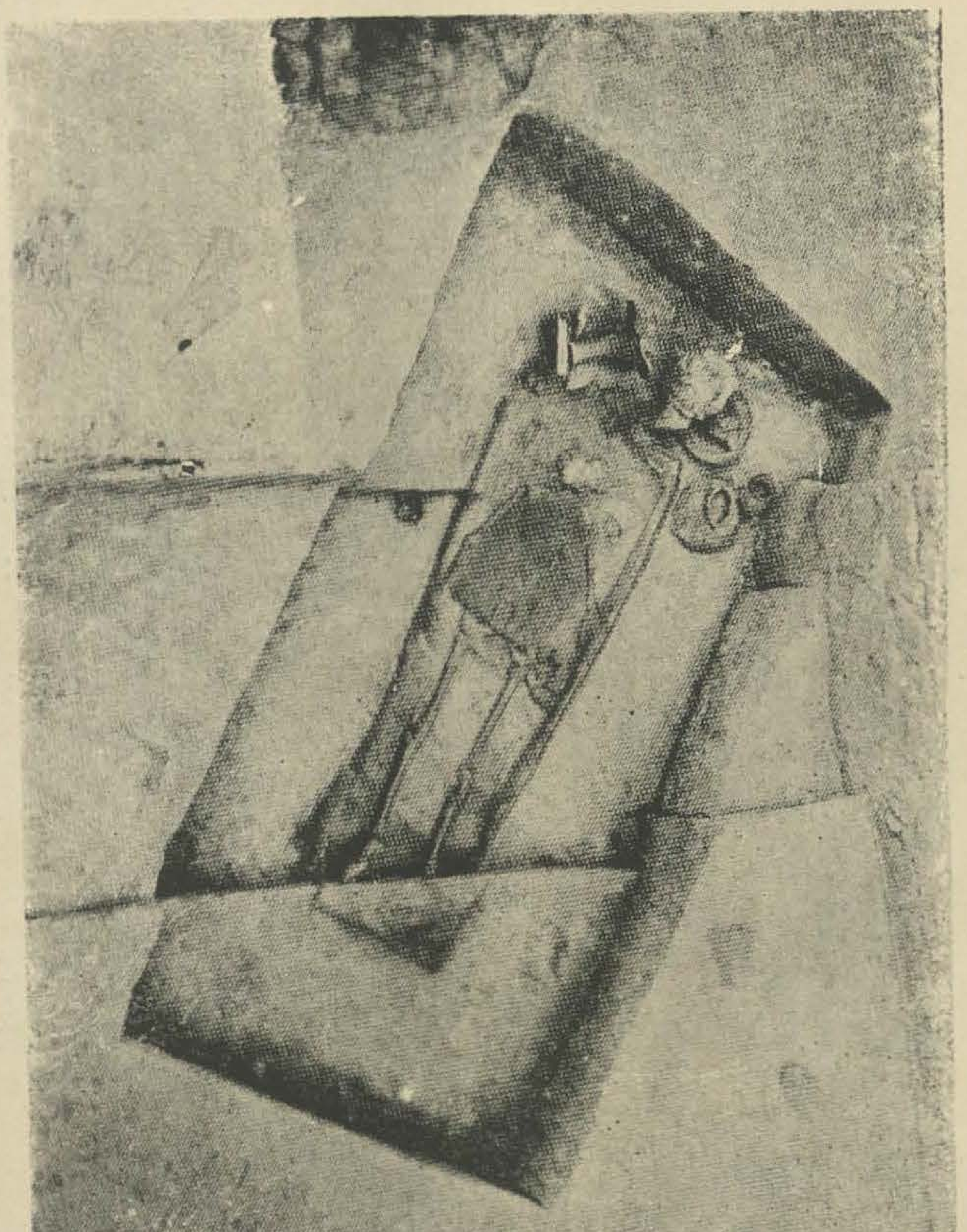
Amri and Nundara beakers and Nundara bowls (red paint stippled)

[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Harappa 1946: Painted Pots (black on red)

[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]



Harappa 1946: Inhumation burial with remains of reed shroud, cemetery R 37.

[Piggott: *Prehistoric India.*]

"He (Indra) beat the *Dasyus* as is his wont. . . . he conquered the land with his fair (or white) friends. . . ." "He flays the enemy of his black skin, he kills him, he reduces him to ashes." Professor Piggott writes in his very valuable book, *Prehistoric India*:[1]

"The greatest god of *Rigveda* is Indra, to whom about one-quarter of the hymns are addressed, and he is the apotheosis of the Aryan battle-leader; strong-armed, colossal, tawny-bearded and potbellied from drinking, he wields the thunderbolt in his more god-like moments, but fights like a hero with bow-and-arrows from his chariot. 'He is strong, young, immortal, and ancient,' as Keith puts it; his appetite is enormous and he devours prodigious quantities of beef, porridge, and cakes, swilling them down with the intoxicating *soma* or with mead, and both his drunkennses and its after-effects are described with convincing fidelity. He is a cattle-raider, and above all he is the destroyer of the strongholds of the enemy, the victorious leader of the Aryans in their conquest of the hated ancient empire in the Punjab. With him fight the young warrior-band, the Maruts. . . .

"The portraits carry conviction in their artless barbarism, so curiously transmitted in the sophisticated Sanskrit verse. . . . The Aryan reivings are carried out on the plains of the Punjab, and Indra and his followers fight against foes who, if not feared as opponents on the battle-field, are regarded with the superstitious dread of the simple soldier for the subtle townsman.

"These opponents of the Aryan onslaught, the despicable enemy who dares deny Indra's supremacy in heaven and on earth, are referred to as the *dasyus* or *dasas*. They have black complexions, no noses to speak of (*anasa*), they are 'of unintelligible speech' and above all they are infidels. They have no 'rites,' *they are* 'indifferent to the gods,' they 'follow strange ordinances,' they do not perform the Aryan sacrifices, and they probably worship the phallus. But they are wealthy, with great stores of gold, they are formed into groups or states, and they live in fortified strongholds. Their names may refer to their eventual fate in Aryan eyes, and be related to the root of *das*, to lay waste: the dwellers in the waste land after conquest.

"Our knowledge that the Harappa civilization was flourishing in Northern and Western India at the beginning of the

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castles not only in the plains but on the crests of the hills. Their religion was of a type which excited the disgust of the invaders. It involved obscene ceremonies and the use of indecent emblems. The animal-sacrifices which were a most important feature of the Aryan ritual seem to have been unknown to the Dasas, who accordingly are called 'non-sacrificers.' The very Sanskrit word for 'caste,' verna, means 'colour,' and the original caste-distinction was simply the distinction between the pale-skinned, Sanskrit-speaking, sacrificing Aryans and the dark-skinned, 'hostile-talking, non-sacrificing' *Dasas*." (Patrick Carleton, *Buried Empires*, pp. 138-139.)

1. Prof. Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 260-263.

second millennium B.C., centred on cities with strongly fortified citadels and containing among its population a large proportion of proto-Australoids with dark skin and flat noses, and that these cities came to a sudden and violent end, makes the identification of the *dasyus* and *dasas* with the inhabitants of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro something near to a certainty. Indra's exploits as a destroyer of forts, recently discussed by Wheeler in connexion with the defences of the Harappa citadel, go to confirm this view.

> With all-outstripping chariot-wheel, O Indra, thou far-famed, hast overthrown the twice ten kings of men
>
> With sixty thousand nine and ninety followers . . . .
> Thou goest on from fight to fight intrepidly destroying castle after castle here with strength.

Thus a hymn in the first book of the *Rigveda* (1, 53). The forts destroyed by Indra are said to be of stone, or with the epithet *ama*, which may refer to unbaked ('raw') brick walls; some are 'autumnal,' which may mean that they were protected from the river floods after the rains. Indra is *puramdara*, the fort destroyer: 'Thou smitest foemen down, and many a citadel,' 'thou breakest down the seven citadels' say the bards in his praise. He 'rends forts as age consumes a garment.'

"The attack seems to have included setting fire to the buildings:

> . . . . in kindled fire he burnt up all their weapons,
> And made him rich with kine and carts and horses (ii, 15)

says another hymn of one of those favoured by the war-god. . . .

"In the past, these 'forts' of the *dasyas* and the *dasus* were considered to be either mythological or at best the primitive earthworks and palisades of the supposed aborigines of Northern India at the time of the Aryan conquest. But now as Wheeler has said, 'the recent excavation of Harappa may be thought to have changed the picture. Here we have a highly-evolved civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications, and known also to have dominated the river-system of north-western India at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of that region. . . . On circumstantial evidence, Indra stands accused.'

"The archaeological evidence given in detail in Chapter V fits so well with the tale of conquest in the *Rigveda* that it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. The forts of the *dasyus* are the citadels of the Harappa civilization, wrecked and plundered by the war-bands who invoked Indra, Lord of Hosts, as they slaughtered those who would not accept his supremacy."

It is a matter of regret that the descendants of those patriots and those kings who defended India against the Aryan invaders are ignorant of the glory and greatness of their ancestors; and the only references to their valour and glory are found in the records of their enemy—the Aryan invaders, whose crushing hand destroyed their kingdoms, their civilisation, their faith and extirpated everything non-Aryan. The records of their exploits and greatness have disappeared from the earth, but the fate of the millions of the eternally down-trodden "*Shudras,*" "*Low-castes,*" or untouchable scavengers in India today, who reveal the calamity of the Aryan invasion and horrors of the Aryan slaughter and destruction, is a lofty monument to the heroism and bravery of the vanquished people and the heroic and unyielding resistance they offered to the Aryan invaders. An historian who dispassionately examines the facts would be obliged to pay reverence to the glorious patriotism which animated those patriotic and valiant warriors, the glorious death they received and the field of battle that was stained with their blood.

Resistance, if it fails, is often fatal. But Aryan tyrants, unshackled by any sentiment of humanity or pity but animated by racial madness and religious prejudices, indulged their devout hatred in the massacre and destruction of the inhabitants of India; a cloud of ruin burst upon the unhappy Indus Valley. The right of victory confiscated the public and private wealth of the vanquished nation; and every hand according to its size and strength lawfully executed the sentence and seized the forfeiture. It is "impossible to exaggerate," observes Ragozin, "the loathing and contempt with which the Aryas treated those whom they were robbing of land and liberty."[1]

At length, fatigued with carnage and rapine, the invaders planted their colonies, to begin with, in the depopulated country, i.e. the "land of five rivers." But in course of time, with pourings of the fresh waves of immigrations, the tide of the Aryan devastation gradually rolled from the foot of the Northern Hill towards Delhi and Gangetic plains. The Dravidian kingdoms were swept off; their cities were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre, pillage and conflagration which involved in promiscuous destruction of the families and fortunes of the Dravidian people, and remains of the fallen nation were dispersed by the alternative of flight to woods and morasses or submission to slavery. By degrees the Aryan fire extirpated the Dravidian power and raised the invaders on the thrones of the rich and fertile "countries" of the Indo-Gangetic rivers.

The first moment of the great victory was devoted to the gratitude of gods, joy and to the carnage of the Dravidian people; and the second was diligently occupied by the anxiety and measures of settlement and consolidation. The unfortunate people of the prostrate race, who survived the general slaughter and submitted to the Aryan invaders, were unarmed, and, as a price of their life, were obliged to

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1. Z. A. Ragozin, *Vedic India* (Story of the Nations), p. 284.

renounce their loyalty to their motherland, to their ancestors and to their faith and to swear allegiance to the Aryan yoke. Pangs of poverty and misery of life were considered to be the just punishment for the Dravidian patriotism; accordingly, the wretched people were deprived of their houses and hearths, dispossessed of their villages and their fertile fields; land produce was declared forbidden to them. Liberality of the master could permit the slaves to subsist on the carcasses of wild animals and crumbs thrown unto them by the generosity of the victorious Aryans. Walled towns and villages rose up with the free labour imposed upon the fallen nation. During the colonial period, the Aryans occupied the lands and villages around "*Indraprastha* and *Hastinapur* on the upper coasts of the Jamna and Ganges"; during the conquering period they "advanced half-way down the four important rivers which water the Northern India"; and their prudence founded in the heart of the country a line of citadels, at Agra, Kanouj, Lucknow and Ajodha—places of refuge to secure against the accidents of war, the Aryan wealth and the Aryan families and also to curb the levity of non-Aryan slaves; and during the Imperial period, they established a third line of fortified capitals at the "junctions of the rivers, namely, at Allahabad, Benares, Patliputra and Gour."[1] Blazing signals were devised to communicate danger to each other and to demoralise the "black people." In slow progress of time, these principalities developed into the fabric of powerful Aryan monarchies.

But neither those measures adopted and the precautions taken nor the Aryan sword and fire could break the spirit of the vanquished Dravidians and reconcile them to the Aryan servitude. Continuous uprisings of the conquered people and their ceaseless efforts for vindication of their liberty allowed no peace to the invaders. The experience of a century or so, after the Aryans had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, matured the Aryan wisdom; and their treasured-up hatred, conceived and devised under the name "Caste System," a unique institution of serfdom, most horrible and most destructive that human imagination could ever think of. The *Caste System* degraded the Dravidians (implying all non-Aryans) from the rank of human beings to the level of vile and despicable creatures; denounced them with the name *Shudras*,[2] as born with hereditary ignominy and inalienable pollution; and declared them eternally unclean, untouchables and unworthy of Aryan association. Scavenging service to the Aryan masters was fixed as the only mission of the Dravidian's life.

Vedic Age

The term Vedic has reference to Rig-Veda, an ancient collection

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1. See J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages*.

2. *Dasyu* or *Shudra* are not "the names of a particular nation: they applied to all that were not Aryan, somewhat after the manner that, in classic antiquity, all went by the name of 'Barbarians' who were not Greeks or Romans." (Zenaide A. Ragozin, *Vedic India*.)

of hymns addressed by the Aryan invaders to their different deities. The period during which the Aryan conquerors had hardly advanced beyond the land of five rivers, the Punjab, and appeared as simple colonists is distinguished as the *Vedic Period* and the Aryans of this period are in general referred to as the *Vedic People.* The wants and aspirations of these *Vedic People* are expressed in the Rig-Veda. They ate beef, used fermented liquor of *Soma. Sati,* the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral bed, was unknown in their society; nor had they any castes, i.e. *Brahmans, Kshatriyas* or *Vaishyas.* Those Aryans made use of the funeral-pile in contradistinction to the Dravidians who buried their dead. Their simple belief of the life-after-death was totally opposed to the later doctrine of transmigration. The sad procession of the friends and relations of the dead, as slowly moved towards the funeral-pile, sang with a firm assurance that the departed soul would go direct to a state of blessedness and reunion with the beloved ones who had gone before.

> " 'Do thou conduct us to heaven,' says a hymn of the later Atharva-Veda; 'let us be with our wives and children.' 'In heaven, where our friends dwell in bliss—having left behind the infirmities of the body, free from lameness, free from crookedness of limb—there let us behold our parents and our children.' 'May the water-shedding Spirits bear thee upwards, cooling thee with their swift motion through the air, and sprinkling thee with dew.' 'Bear him, carry him; let him, with all his faculties complete, go to the world of the righteous. Crossing the dark valley which spreadeth boundless around him, let the unborn soul ascend to heaven. Wash the feet of him who is stained with sin; let him go upwards with cleansed feet. Crossing the gloom, gazing with wonder in many directions, let the unborn soul go up to heaven.' "[1]

The hymns of the Rig-Veda bid farewell to the dead as:

> " 'Depart thou, depart thou by the ancient paths to the place whither our fathers have departed. Meet with the Ancient Ones; meet with the Lord of Death. Throwing off thine imperfections, go to thy home. Become united with body; clothe thyself in a shining form.' 'Let him depart to those who, through meditation, have obtained the victory; who, by fixing their thoughts on the unseen, have gone to heaven. Let him depart to the mighty in battle, to the heroes who have laid down their lives for others, to those who have bestowed their goods on the poor."[2]

Brahmanic Age

In the Rig-Veda period, the Aryan tribes had spread over the plains from the North-Western Frontier to the upper Ganges, and

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1. Sir William Hunter, *Indian Peoples,* pp. 58-59. Also see J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*
2. Ibid.

built up small kingdoms mostly under hereditary monarchs who carried on their aggressive operations against the non-Aryan peoples living in the neighbouring regions. Stately cities made their appearance for the first time in the later Vedic texts. Simultaneously with the growth of large kingdoms, the invaders had extended their devastating sway towards the east and the south; and before the close of the later Vedic period, or beginning of the Brahmanic period, "the fertile plains watered by the Jumna, the upper Ganges and the Sadanira (the Rapti or the Ganadak) had been cleared of all the natives of the soil by the Aryan sword, subdued and dominated by the Aryan arms. Success of the aggression further spurred the Aryan ambition and gradually the conquering Aryans passed the limits of the Indo-Gangetic plains and established new kingdoms in the Deccan to the north of the Godavari.

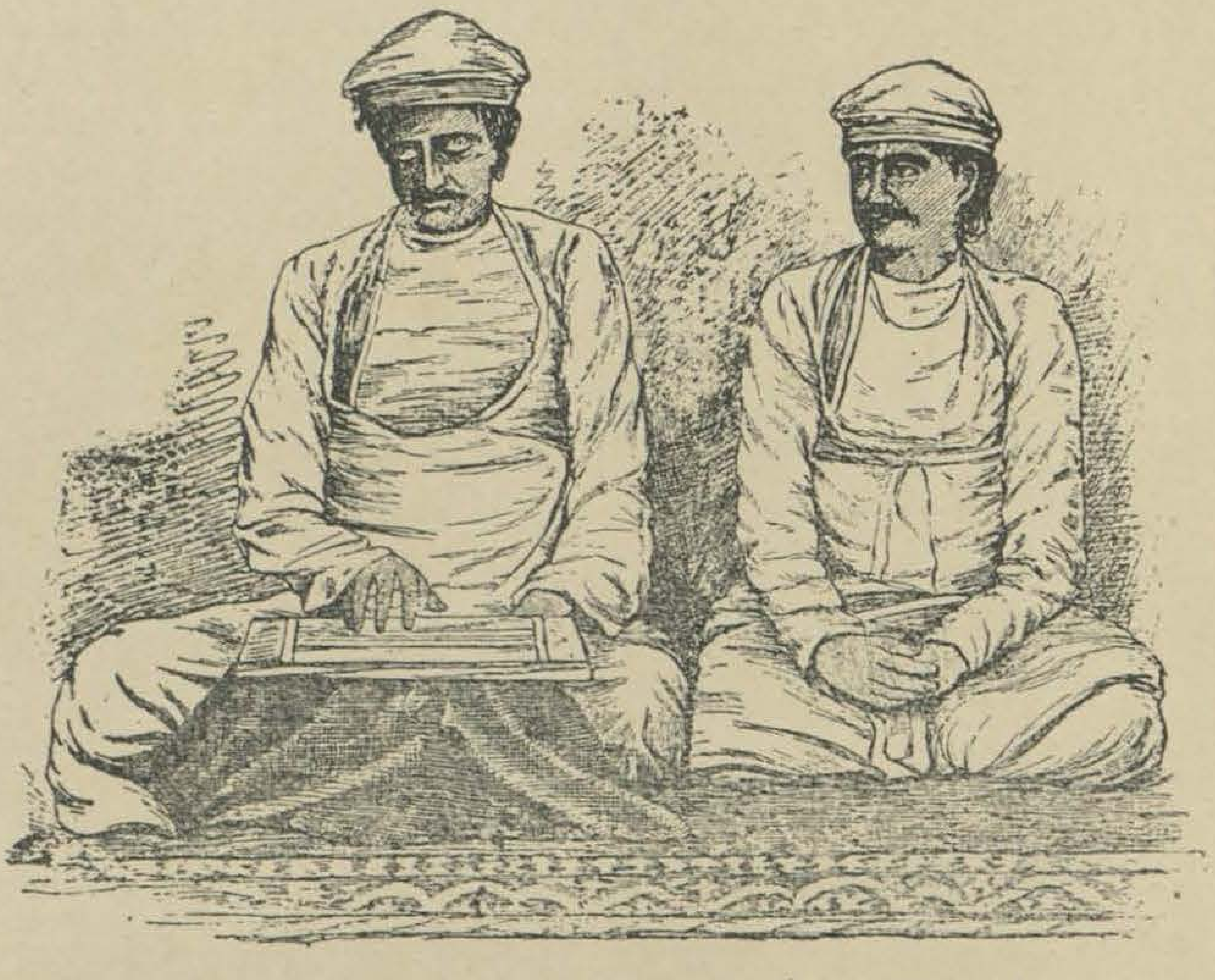
The centre of the Aryan world, however, was the "firm middle country" (*Dhruva madhyama dis*) stretching from the Sarasvati to the Gangetic Doab, occupied by the *Kurus*, the *Panchalas* and some adjoining tribes. It was from this region that the Brahmanic civilisation spread to the outer provinces, to the land of the Kosalas and the Kasis drained by the *Sarayu* and the *Varanavati*, to the swamps east of the Ganadak colonised by the Videhas, and to the valley of the Wardha occupied by the Vidarbhas. Beyond them lived the tribes of mixed origin like the Angas of East Bihar and the Magadhas of South Bihar, as well as *Dasyus* and the aboriginal folk like the Pundras of North Bengal, the Pulindas and Savaras of the Vindhyan forest, and the Andhras in the valley of the Godavari.[1]

The most distinguished among the Aryan tribes of the period were the *Kurus* and the *Panchalas* with their capitals at *Asandivat* and *Kampila* (Kampilya) respectively. The former occupied Kurukshetra—"the tongue of land between the *Sarasvati* and the *Drishadvati* (Chitang-Rakshi) as well as the districts of Delhi and Meerut." The latter occupied the Bareilly, Badaun and Farrukhabad districts of the United Provinces and some adjoining tracts.[2]

The age succeeding to the Vedic Age is distinguished as the Brahmanic Age. In this period the Aryan invaders advanced beyond the "land of five rivers" and established a powerful fabric of Aryan empires at Delhi, Oudh, Tirhut, and Bihar under the ancient names of Bharata, Kosula, Mithala and Magadha. In this period the two poems of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were composed, and the spiritual conceptions and aspirations underwent a total change. The doctrine of transmigration made its appearance; a new dynasty of deities arose; and the gods of the Vedas "lost their hold upon the national sympathies, and shrivelled more and more into human heroes with human instincts and passions." But the greatest contribution of the active genius of the Brahmanic Age was the "Caste System"

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1. J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*
2. Sir William Hunter, *Indian Peoples*, p. 59.



BRAHMANS OF BENGAL (= ARYAS)
[Ragozin, *Vedic India*]

which has prevailed rigidly down to the present day. The "Caste System" fixed an eternal bar of separation between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, forbade the Aryans from any intercourse with the non-Aryans whether they were vanquished subjects or others (denounced as "Shudras") in the common offices of friendship, hospitality and social life; excluded for ever the "Shudras" (the non-Aryans) from the domestic civil and military honours and denied to the unfortunate people any hope of relief or salvation.

Caste System

The "Caste System" divided the Aryans into:

(*i*) Brahmanas: The priests.

(*ii*) Kshatriyas: Warriors.

(*iii*) Vaishyas: Traders, farmers and craftsmen.

Manu, defining the duties and mutual relations of the three castes, says:

> "To Brahmans he [Brahma] assigned teaching and studying the Veda, sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting of alms. . . .
>
> "A Brahman," we read, "coming into existence is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law.
>
> "Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahman; on account of the excellence of his origin, the Brahman is, indeed, entitled to it all.
>
> "The Brahman eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brahman. . . .
>
> ". . . . A Brahman, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity. . . .
>
> ". . . . Though Brahmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must be honored in every way; for each of them is a very great deity. . . .
>
> "The whole duty of kings is pithily summed up under these three heads: 'Not to turn back in battle; to protect the people; to honor Brahmans.' 'To *worship* Brahmans' is the expression repeatedly used; 'to enrich them' is a point emphatically inculcated, and the king is solemnly warned not to provoke them to anger under any circumstances, 'for they, when angered, could instantly destroy him, together with his army and vehicles.'
>
> "The Vaishya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land."

The conquered non-Aryan subjects, "slave-bands of black descent" of Rig-Veda, were stigmatised with hereditary pollution and eternal ignominy and named as *Shudras*,[1] and scavenging service

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1. *Dasyu* or *Shudra* are not "the names of a particular nation: they applied to all that were not Aryan." (Zenaide A. Ragozin, *Vedic India*.

to the Aryan nation was prescribed as the "only mission of their life."

Twice-Born: When an Aryan boy (or of one of the three high castes) attains a certain age, considered as "years of discretion," he is "initiated," i.e. admitted under solemn ceremonies into the "religious community," after which he receives instructions in the Vedas. This initiation was and is regarded as the youth's second birth—his birth into the spiritual life, wherefore the three Aryan castes took, and do take today, pride in the appellation of being "twice-born" (*dvi-ja*). From this distinction the Shudras were excluded. This is declared most explicitly in Manu's Code:

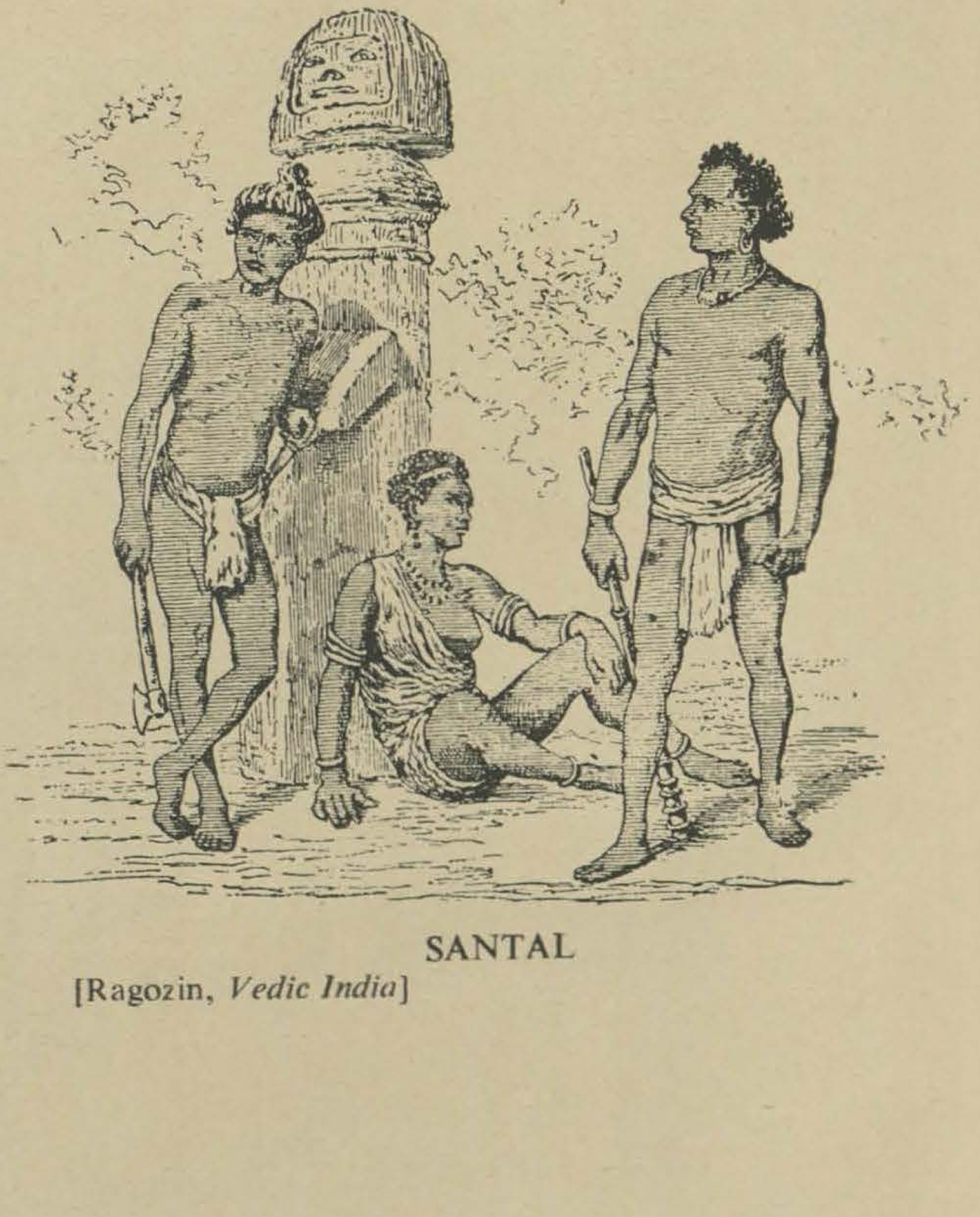
> "The *Brahman*, the *Kshatriya*, and the *Vaishya* castes are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the *Shudra*, has no second birth."

Apart from the "slave-bands of black descent" of the Rig-Veda, all non-Aryans, whosoever and wherever living, were also listed and treated as "Shudras." "If any more proof be wanted," observes Z. A. Ragozin, "of the fact that the servile class was made such by conquest we have it in a passage of Manu's Code, which forbids the twice-born to associate with a Shudra 'even though he were a king,' because says Manu, 'What can a Shudra king be but a native sovereign.' An estimate of the Aryan hatred for the rest of mankind may be had from the various expressions of Manu: 'Woe to the country, says Manu, 'in which the Shudra makes the laws': 'it sinks like a cow in dung' (Manu VIII, 21); 'Woe even to the kingdom in which the Shudra are majority (Manu VIII, 22). Brahmanism, thus, had in its basic structure no place other than that of the 'Shudra' for any non-Aryan whosoever, a king or a slave. Manu, contemptuously calls the Southern India where the Dravidians lived as 'Dravida-varta' in contradistinction with the 'Aryavarta.' "[1]

The vanquished Dravidians, "the slave-bands of black descent of the Rig-Veda," were charged with the contemptible functions of scavenging the Aryan village, houses of the Aryan master and of removing the dung of his animals. The "Shudra" could own no wealth, wear no gold or silver, nor could demand any wages. He could live on the corpses of wild animals or crumbs thrown out to him by the generosity of the Aryan. He was untouchable and unclean from his very birth; the impurity was hereditary and fundamental in the very conception and philosophy of the "Caste System"; contact with the Shudra was impure and his touch defiled the Aryan and deserved him the punishment of "flogging to death." No exertions could change his mean status or vocation nor any virtue could raise him to respectability in social scale. His dress and manners were prescribed to discriminate him and to announce his identity. Stern prohibitions were enacted to restrain the wretched creature from

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1. *Vedic India.*



SANTAL

[Ragozin, *Vedic India*]

acquiring any learning or knowledge and receiving or hearing any instructions in any art or science.[1]

It would be unfair to judge or estimate the sufferings of the "Shudra" by comparing the institution of the "Caste System" with the institution of slavery under the Greeks, the Romans or the Persians. A slave under the Romans or the Persians was a domestic slave; he could reasonably expect that his diligence, industry and fidelity of a few years might be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom. But even such a hope, perhaps the best comfort of our imperfect conditions, was and is altogether denied to the hard-hit Dravidian. A "Shudra" was a slave of the whole Aryan community and not of an individual, a creation of the religion, of the political hatred, and of the national revenge sanctified by Aryan "gods." Even death could not put an end to his miserable lot. Brahmanism denounced pity to the "Shudra" as a flagitious act and an irredeemable sin deserving severe punishment, in the present as well as in the future life. "A very dreadful and deterrent punishment was prescribed for overstepping the narrow limits allotted for the course of life and duty of an individual in this world; the soul or undying part of a trespasser or guilty, after having reaped its heavy punishment as awarded by the gods, returns to earth to be reborn, sometimes in a man of a lower grade of society, sometimes as an animal, or, in case the transgression is great, as a creeping or crawling insect or as an evil spirit ever to roam without peace or rest."[2] Neither the oppression of the tyrants nor the misery of the Dravidian, therefore, could excite any sympathy or an emotion of mercy; nor any humanitarian sentiments could contribute in any manner to alleviate the hardships of the "Caste Servitude." To the voice of religion, the Aryan added the authority of the sword; the Caste System became the inexorable law of the state; and the horrible institution, unparalleled in the annals of mankind, was enforced with blind zeal of persecution. The double yoke—spiritual despotism and the Aryan sword—annihilated the manhood in the "Shudra" and shackled his thought and action. The spirit of the unfortunate nation was broken for ever. The progress of time at length fixed the fallen Dravidian in the new institution, and the helpless people accepted the inhuman and degraded position with an unquestioning and undisturbed mind as his pre-ordained lot.

It is not slavery of the Caste System, but the perpetuation of "untouchability," and permanency of the "caste-tyranny" which deserve our wonder and abhorrence. The "benefits" of the inhuman fetters were not confined to those who were taken captive or who surrendered to the Aryan yoke; the chains of Caste System were extended to the future generations of the Dravidians till eternity. Birth fixed the status and vocation of a person and the Shudra mothers were ordained to propagate "Shudras" only. The slaves of

1. *Vedic India ; Indian Peoples ; Manu-Smirti.*
2. R. W. Frazer, *British India* (Story of the Nations).

the Greeks, Romans and the Persians have disappeared from the world; but the ghastliest of all the slaveries, that of the Caste System, shaped and introduced by the Brahman about 3,000 years ago, stands as firm[1] and rigid as the sacred Himalayas. Nearly one-third of the population of Bharat today constitutes these downtrodden victims of the Brahmanism, ignorant of their great ancestors, of their great history, and now also ignorant of the tyranny and oppression of the Brahman exercised upon them through ages in the name of race and religion. Could a more inhuman and tyrannical institution condemning the natives of a country and their posterity to a perpetual slavery be devised by an invader!

Buddhism

About eight to ten centuries or so after the Aryan invaders were firmly established in their greatness, the country was again agitated by the irresistible arms of another race of fierce tribes to be called Scythians and menaced with a new servitude. The Aryan monarchies enervated by luxury and time crumbled before the superior vigour and, within a century or so, the vast Indo-Gangetic plains submitted to the Scythian yoke. Fortunately for Brahmanism, the Scythians, unlike the "Aryan invaders," were neither mad with any racial fanaticism, nor afflicted with a religious intolerance. Their temper was reserved for the destruction of the rivals and rebels only. Submission was spared and protected; and whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The very existence of the Brahmanic people attests the moderation of the Scythian masters.

The unpolished conquerors could neither read nor write, and their reason was informed by no books. With their mental faculty unexpanded and unexercised, the new invaders were destitute of learning and the prudence of a civilised nation. War and danger were the only amusements suiting to their martial ambition. In the dull

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1. "Leaving the ancient roots of things, and coming down to the year A.D. 1926, we find the orthodox Hindu rule as to Untouchables to roughly this:

"Regarded as if sub-human, the tasks held basest are reserved for them; dishonour is associated with their name. Some are permitted to serve only as scavengers and removers of night soil; some, through the ignorance to which they are condemned, are loathsome in their habit and to all of them the privilege of any sort of teaching is sternly denied. They may neither possess nor read the Hindu scriptures. No Brahman priest will minister to them; and, except in rarest instances, they may not enter a Hindu temple to worship or pray. Their children may not come to the public schools. They may not draw water from the public wells and if their habitation be in a region where water is scarce and sources far apart, this means, for them, not greater consideration from others, but greater suffering and greater toil.

"They may not enter a court of justice; they may not enter a dispensary to get help for their sick; they may stop at no inn. In some provinces they may not even use the public road, and as labourers or agriculturists they are continually losers, in that they may not enter the shops or even pass through the streets where shops are, but must trust to a haphazard chain of hungry go-betweens to buy or sell their meagre wares. Some, in the abyss of their degradation, are permitted no work at all. These may sell nothing, not even their own labour. They may only beg. And even for that purpose they dare not use the road, but must stand far off, unseen, and cry out for alms from those who pass. If alms be given, it must be tossed on the ground, well away from the road, and when the giver is out of sight and the roads empty, then, and not till then, the watcher may creep up, snatch, and run.

intervals of peace they were immoderately addicted to deep gambling and heavy drinking; both of which by different means, the one by inflaming passions, the other by extinguishing their reason, alike relieved them from the pains of thinking. Astonished by the learning and skill of the Brahman, and insensibly seduced by his cunning, the victorious Scythians, who were not sufficiently refined to entertain the aspiring ideas of destruction of a culture, felt as much inclined to admire as to retain the arts and studies of Brahmanism and its civilisation. They willingly trusted the Brahman as their counsellor, invested him with civil and social honours and cheerfully delegated to his hands the cares of the administration. Despite the change of masters on the thrones, Brahmanism and its institutions continued to flourish, Brahmanic laws continued to govern the people and the Brahmanic administration continued to rule the country as before. The Brahmanic empires were destroyed, but Brahmanism survived with a greater vigour.

The ungrateful subjects, however, connected the generosity or moderation of the masters with their inferior birth, asserted the personal pre-eminence of their Aryan origin and unhesitatingly professed their implacable hatred to the rest of mankind. While they would condescend to bend themselves low before the Scythian masters, respect and acknowledge their sword and power, and beg and obtain the benefits of their regime, the Brahmans despised or affected to despise the Scythian birth, refused to reconcile their Aryan prejudices to the new change and were not prepared to admit the new rulers to the temporal or spiritual benefits of Brahmanism. Their sullen obstinacy, insisted with inflexible vigour on the prerogatives of birth and Caste System—the cardinal fetter in the chain of Brahmanism and on their pride of "being twice-born people"—claimed that the ancient blood of the Aryans transcended the majesty of the kings of the earth, shunned the Scythians and offered the illiterate rulers no rank other than that of the untouchable "Shudras." The understanding of the unlettered and untutored Scythians was baffled by the confounding myths and the cobwebs of the scholastic philosophy of

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"Some, if not all, pollute, beyond caste men's use, any food upon which their shadow falls. Food, after such defilement, can only be destroyed.

"Others, again, exude 'distant pollution' as an effluvium from their unhappy bodies. If one of these presumes to approach and linger by a high-road, he must measure the distance to the high-road. If it be within two hundred yards, he must carefully place on the road a green leaf weighed down with a handful of earth, thereby indicating that he, the unclean, is within pollution distance of that point. The passing Brahman, seeing, the signal, halts and shouts. The poor man forthwith takes to his heels, and only when he has fled far enough calls back, 'I am now two hundred yards away. Be pleased to pass.'

"Still others—the Puliahs of the Malabar Coast—have been forbidden to build themselves huts, and permitted to construct for houses nothing better than a sort of leaf awning on poles, or nests in the crotches of big trees. These may approach no other type of humanity. Dubois recorded that, in his day, a Nair (high-caste Hindu), meeting a Puliah in the road, was entitled to stab the offender on the spot. Today the Nair would hesitate. But still, today, the Puliah may approach no caste man nearer than sixty or ninety feet." (Kathrine Mayo, *Mother India*, p. 143.)

Brahmanism; they (the Scythian masters) often felt humbled by the subtelity of the Brahman, by the affront offered by the "Caste System" and by their own illiteracy. The artless Scythians had no religious philosophy other than some superstitious beliefs of their own; no doctrine of salvation which could urge them to rescue the country from the domination of Brahmanism, sin or error; the influence of their religious beliefs was too feeble to inflame any passions nor did they possess any enlightened faculties to relieve them of the embarrassing situation. The fortunes of Brahmanism were firmly established as never before. The wretched Dravidians lay prostrate in the dirt; and the Scythian ruler stood mortified writhing under the reproach of low birth. At this time, when the Indian firmament was darkened with the thick clouds of Brahmanism, a celestial light rose up from Magadha and began to warm up and illuminate the various regions of India. This was "Buddhism," a new religion founded by a Scythian prince, Gautama Buddha, who was endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition. Himself a non-Aryan, the author of the new revolution had suffered the pinch of "Caste System"; he was a prince, but he relinquished the throne of his father, renounced the luxury of the palace and, avoiding the paths of ambition and avarice, embraced a life of misery and devoted his life to deliverance of the suffering humanity from the tyranny of Brahmanism, and the humiliating and crushing shackles of the horrible "Caste System."

"All men are equal and salvation," Buddhism boldly declared, "was equally open to all; but it must be earned not by propitiating imaginary deities (of Brahmanism) but by one's own conduct. What a man sows, that he must reap." The promise of salvation, which under "Brahmanism" was confined to a single people, the "twice-born" Aryans, was now proposed by the new religion alike to the freeman and the slave, to the Brahman, the Scythian and the "Shudra," to the Aryans and the non-Aryans. Buddha anxiously avoided a conflict with Brahmanism, but his sublime message of equality obviously meant to extinguish the sore and gruesome distinction between the "twice-born" Aryans and the "once-born" Scythians and "Shudras," and held out an annihilating menace for the "Caste System"—which celebrated the glory of the Aryans and constituted the fundamental basis of Brahmanism.

Buddhism imposed a sacred duty on every convert, to diffuse among his friends and relations, the inestimable blessing which he had received. The new religion also possessed a great advantage in having as its founder a prince whose royal status must lend weight to his great message. Many non-Aryan princes, repentant sinners and the trodden plebians, welcomed the mission of Buddha; but the painful penance prescribed for salvation was capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the monastery. Again it was an arduous task to eradicate the deep impressions made on the minds, the habits and the prejudices formed through centuries by the education, tradi-

tions and domination of Brahmanism. A non-Aryan faith could deserve but a bitter Aryan contempt. Brahmanism, though never designed for conquest, was admirably fitted for defence; and it was not dead; it swayed the life and thought as rigidly as ever. The "twice-born" Aryans, animated by the abhorrence for non-Aryans which had all along distinguished them from other peoples of the ancient India, rose with indignation to meet the menace. Buddha was denounced as a "leader of the demons." But the Scythian or non-Brahmanic origin of Buddha was an unskilful calumny of the Brahmans which exalted rather than degraded the merit of their adversary. Even the most sceptical criticism was obliged to respect the integrity of the celebrated founder of Buddhism. The opposition of the established Brahmanism, however, was not ineffective. Those who survey with critical eye the revolutions of mankind would observe that Buddhism could grow no lasting roots during the first century of its birth. In fact, history of Buddhism would have been different; Buddhism would never have traversed beyond the limits of India, and perhaps it might have perished without being heard, had not the palace of Chandragupta[1] (Maurya) embraced with faith and reverence an "out-caste Bhikshu." That emperor, as it was believed, had professed the new[2] faith by a secret conversion, but, apprehensive of mischief from his crafty and powerful Brahman minister, Chankaya[3] (who is represented in the drama *Mudrarakshasa*, as having caused the death of his master, King Nanda, and secured the accession of Chandragupta to the throne), in public paid homage to the Aryan gods. But the zeal of his grandson, the great Asoka[4] (about 257

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1. (*a*) Justin has described Chandragupta as "a man of humble birth." (*Epitome of the Historiae Philippicae of Pompeius Trogus*.) (*b*) The cognomen "Vrishala" has been contemptuously applied to Chandragupta in the Sanskrit play: *Mudrarakshasa*, which means a man of "Shudra" extraction or a non-Aryan.

2. (*a*) M. Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*.

(*b*) But Jaina Tradition claims that Chandragupta was converted to Jainism. He is said to have abdicated his throne and passed his last days in meditation at Sravana Belgola in Mysore.

3. The Brahmanic literature completely ignored Chandragupta for about ten centuries. "In spite of his friendship with the Brahman Chankya," observes Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*, "he belonged to, and indeed had insolence to found, the hated Moriya dynasty, to which, later on, Buddhism owed so much. But the memory of him, or at least of the popular romance attached to him, must have been kept very much alive among the peoples of India. For in the eighth century of our era, a layman, the author of a famous Sanskrit drama, the Mudrarakshasa, takes that romance as his plot. He gives a number of details out of which Lassen already, half a century ago, tried, with the help of other traditions, to unravel the nucleus of historic fact. He succeeded very well in doing so, but perhaps the most suggestive fact we may learn from the play is that, in spite of the Brahmans, the memory of Chandragupta had survived in the people's hearts, all through that long interval of priestly silence—another proof, if any were needed, that it is not very wise to trust altogether exclusively to Brahman evidence."

4. Chandragupta's son, Bindusara, was, on his death, succeeded by his son Asoka of whom we learn from the Ceylon Chronicles, Buddhist writings and his own inscriptions. Rhys Davids observes: "The Greeks do not mention him, and the Brahman records completely ignore him until the time when, ten or twelve centuries afterwards, all danger of his influence had passed definitely away. They then go so far as to include his name among others in a list of kings. When this was done the authors of it had no access to the Buddhist writings, and could not read the inscriptions. It follows that the tradition had been carried down, all

B.C.), fearlessly seated Buddhism on the throne of the empire and took upon itself the sacred duty to diffuse the doctrine of salvation, and saved his country and the world from the dominion of a sin and error. The bold and unnecessary patronage of the royal missionary established the religion of Buddha on a firm footing and by his vigorous efforts a greater portion of Asia soon submitted to the yoke of the new religion.

Asoka, Kanishka, Harsha and all those princes and kings who embraced and championed the cause of the new religion were either Scythians or Dravidians. Accordingly "Buddhism" was also assailed as the "Scythian religion." With the passage of time the hostility of the Brahman involved the two religions into ugly attacks and counter-attacks. "At the time of Patanjali, such had become the enmity between Sramans (Buddhist wanderers) and the Brahmans" that the author of *Mahabhashya* compared them "with crows and owls, dogs and jackals as natural enemies."[1] "Hiouen Thsang mentions the name of Sasangka, the king of Karnasurverna, in Eastern India, among the three others who during his visit to India 'abolished the Law, and destroyed the Tree of Wisdom' in their kingdoms." But the state religion sustained all calumny, opposition and provocations with firmness, its triumph with moderation and its power with toleration. There was no retaliation in the Buddhist kingdoms. "Buddhists," says the Chinese pilgrim, "never dreamt of turning their princes against their religious antagonists. Buddhism was satisfied with contending against them by doctrines superior to those of Brahmanism. They never tried to use compulsion, and the whole spirit of the new faith held violence in abhorrence." Buddha himself had imposed "reverence to Brahmans" as a great duty upon his followers. Brahmanism was allowed and enjoyed full freedom under the graceful toleration of Buddhism for about one thousand years and lived side by side with the state religion unmolested. In contrast to the narrow spirit which afflicted the Brahmanic kingdoms, the celebrated pilgrim conveys to us in detail the generous treatment which was accorded to Brahmanism under the famous Buddhist King Saliditya (Harsha) who, at the time of his visit, ruled over Kanyakuba (Central India). Saliditya, an Asoka of the seventh century A.D., is known for his pious zeal with which he carried on the duties of spreading the faith and distributing charity. During the stay of Hiouen Thsang, the royal preacher summoned two assemblies, one the Central Council (*Mahamokshaparishad*) at Kanauj and the other at the junction where the Ganges and the Jumna unite their waters. The object of the Central Council was "to exhibit the refinements of the Great Vehicle (Buddhist faith)." Twenty-one tributary

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the time, in the Brahman schools, though not one word about it had been allowed to transpire."

1. Max Muller, *Heritage of India.*

sovereigns attended, together with the most learned Buddhist monks and Brahmans of their kingdoms. On the first day of the Council, a statue of Buddha was installed with impressive ceremony; on the second, an image of the Brahman sun-god; on the third, an idol of the "Siva." "All the different religions," says the Chinese pilgrim, "practised by those nations were treated—except as to precedence—with the same respect; and as in ordinary life they co-existed without contest or persecution; and the king did not set them apart in their beneficence any more than they did in their protection. On the fourth day the general distributions began, and they were first made to the monks, the fervent apostles of Buddha's faith. Then the distribution was extended to the Brahmans and, as they were much more numerous, it lasted twenty days." The other Assembly at Prayaga was convened for distribution of gifts and charity. Harsha, accompanied by Hiouen Thsang and the kings of twenty-two countries, went there with great solemnity. "All the kings of the empire and multitudes of people were feasted for seventy-five days. Siladitya brought forth the rich treasures of his palace, and gave them away to Brahmans and Buddhists, monks and heretics (Brahmans), alike without distinction or discrimination."

Buddhism had provoked the human thought and stirred up the great problems that human intelligence could evoke. It possessed for the victims of Caste System an appealing mission that gradually sapped the influence of the Brahmanic religion "which was supported by custom rather than argument." Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, claims that Buddhism was "superior" to the ancient faith, "Brahmanism," which was but "the gross worship of spirits and Devas," and "the Brahmanic Pantheon," he says, "was completely discredited and a belief in those impotent deities was regarded as a kind of shame. The Brahmans were bewildered and did not know how to create an ideal accessible to the masses." The monasteries were filled with increasing number of fresh proselytes, while the temples were deserted. The Brahman institutions extorted smiles of contempt, while the Buddhist rites became the fashion of the time. The Sanskrit yielded place to Prakarat and, with that the mode of thought, the mode of life changed. "But the triumph of the Monastery was never stained with blood" and no instance of persecution of Brahmanism has so far been traced to discredit the assertion of the Chinese pilgrim.

Brahmanism suffered a great setback, but endured the dismal eclipse and weathered the storm with formidable strength.

If we contemplate about the savage nations in any part of the globe, a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their main character. The Scythian whirlwind destroyed the Brahmanic empires of Indo-Gangetic plains but not the Brahmanic people; the artful people eluded the Scythian sword or the Scythian valour disdained to trample upon the prostrate enemy. The new rulers held in their hands only a few of the levers and handles which controlled

and worked the governmental machinery but their liberality generously entrusted, without fear, the administration to the hostile nation—the very liberality which, at length, proved fatal to their national existence. But the faithless and deceitful Brahmans preserved their enmity; when they promised to serve, they aspired to reign; and when they swore allegiance, they sowed the seeds of intrigue and watched the opportunity of revolt.

Time and again the remnants of the Brahmanic powers, urged by their national resentment against the non-Aryans and inspired by the tutelar deities of Brahmanism, united their arms to destroy or drive out the common foe; and the enthusiasm of several of their princes which they displayed against the Scythians earned them memorable name and fame. But their arms were ever unfortunate and the Scythian power remained unshaken and unbroken. The tenacity of the Brahmans, however, deserves admiration; the failures could never disappoint their hopes nor chill their courage as to abandon their perfidious efforts. Nursed up in sedition and dexterous in mischief, the Brahman, in course of time, involved the Scythian benefactors in mutual destruction. In 57 B.C., the vigorous warring activity of the King of Ujjain against his brethren Scythians, which earned him from the crafty Brahman the distinction of a "great hero," showed the way to the Scythian ruin. With a view to perpetuate the destructive dissensions among the Scythians, the artful Brahman flattered the king with the title of "Vikramaditya" (meaning, enemy of the Scythians, but figuratively brave) and, in order to preserve his attachment and that of his descendants, founded a new era called "Samvat" era beginning from 57 B.C., to commemorate his achievements. About a hundred years later, another valiant king, by name Salivahana, dealt another severe blow to the Scythian name and solidarity. His attempts to destroy his brethren won him the applause of the clever enemy—the Brahman—who "honoured" him with another era called the Saka (Scythian) in A.D. 78. Fresh hordes of Scythians and Huns by now poured in, mutual destruction of the Scythians tore up the fabric of their power and India slipped into the grip of a terrible warfare and horrible chaos was the result, which prevailed for several centuries. The names of three dynasties—the Sah Kings in the north-west of Bombay from A.D. 60 to 235, the Gupta Kings who reigned in Oudh and Northern India from A.D. 319 to 470 (when they seem to have been overpowered by a fresh wave of Huns or Scythians) and the Valabhi Kings who ruled over Cutch, Malwa and north-western districts of Bombay, from A.D. 480 to about 722, however, have been saved from oblivion by the Brahman for the signal service they rendered to Brahmanism against the Scythians. During this calamitous period, their feuds, divisions and armed conflicts for supremacy over each other sapped and exhausted their strength and brought about their destruction. "Shudra kingdoms" (as the non-Aryan empires were called) gradually

began to vanish and by about A.D. 800 the Scythians as a power disappeared from India. The extermination of the Scythian power, their name and national existence is the memorable victory of the Brahmanic intrigue.

Hiouen Thsang during his stay in India journeyed all over the country, visited almost all the monasteries of note and fame and conversed with all the notable teachers and doctors of Buddhism. He found Buddhism flourishing with its monuments and relics intact and saw new edifices, stupas and *viharas* were constantly being built. "The hearts were warm and sincerely respected tradition and believed in the Buddhist dogmas." He says, "The monasteries are spread over the whole of the country; and the capital of Kashmir alone had one hundred monasteries inhabited by five thousand monks." The monastery of Nalanda, the famous seat of learning, he found, was providing training to "ten thousand monks and novices." "The religion of Buddha does not appear to have been on its decline in India when the pious Hiouen Thsang went thither to seek the enlightenment. He found tradition alive everywhere, religious establishments flourishing and spread all over the country, which liberally maintained them; the most studious and learned teachers, a throng of disciples diligently followed their lessons, in order to perpetuate them—in one word, a prosperous condition that seemed likely to continue for many centuries."

With the destruction of the Scythian power, Buddhism lost its patrons, while Brahmanism speedily recovered its lost ground and regained its earthly power. Tolerance was considered a fool's consolation. The cruel and untractable Brahman knew not how to forgive an injury much less an insult. The destruction of its rival—Buddhism—was pleaded as the only way left for obliterating the memory of the former disgrace. The influence of the Brahman, as the dispenser of honours both on earth and in heaven, was unquestionable; while his resentment was bloody and implacable with fanatical zeal, they (Brahmans) inflamed the minds of their people[1] against the "non-Aryan religion"—Buddhism—and provoked the rulers to expiate their sins and earn the gratitude of gods by extirpating the "rival" of the ancient religion. The Brahmanic animosity burst forth with a tempestuous fury and unrelenting cruelty; and the astonished Buddhists and their trembling families were ruthlessly slaughtered. Neither repentance nor conversion, neither sex nor age, could shield the followers of Buddha from the insatiable blood-thirst of the Brahman; even the remote woods and mountains could afford no protection to the unfortunate people. The Buddhist monasteries, relieved of their gold and silver, were delivered to flames; their libraries were

1. "Brahman accounts attribute the final stages in the movement to a furious persecution brought about at the instigation of the great Brahman apostle, Kumarila Bhatta, in the first half of the eighth century. This view has received the support of the distinguished European scholars, Wilson and Colebrooke. (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 211.)

collected and, amidst great applause and thanksgiving prayers to the Aryan gods, the funeral-pile of the Buddhist learning and scholarship was set to fire.

The Brahmanic rulers laboured hard to deserve the favour of the Heaven by extirpation of the "low-caste" religion. A king of Southern India, by name Sudhawan, relates a Sanskrit scholar, Mhava-Achariya, "commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Buddhists, from the ridge of Rovana (the ridge that connected India with Ceylon to the Snowy Mountain). Let him who slays not, be slain."[1] Rev. W. T. Wilkins relates: "These disciples of Buddha were so ruthlessly persecuted that all were either slain or exiled. There is scarcely a case on record where a religious persecution was so successfully carried out as that by which Buddhism was driven out of India."[2]

The light of Buddhism was extinguished and its civilisation vanished from the land of its birth. What a change and what a fate! By the irony of fate, the virulent Brahmans, Kumarila, Sankasa-Achariya and others, the destroyers of a great civilisation, are worshipped today with liberal applause as the national heroes; while there is none to shed a tear over the great and awful catastrophe and on the fate and misfortunes of the slaughtered Buddhists whose only fault was their profession in a non-Aryan or non-Brahmanic religion.

The remnants of Buddhism are now mainly settled in the East Bengal districts adjacent to Burma, and in the remote valleys of the Himalayan ranges numbered 227,000. While the Jains, a sect of Buddhism, separately numbered 1,250,000.

Rajputs and Jats

Various tribes of the warlike Scythian race,[3] who sprang from the upper Central Asia, and wandered over the immense plains from the confines of Persia to those of Germany, time and again invaded India. In about 800-700 B.C., a tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the borders of China to eastern Persia rushed through the Himalayan passes, overturned the Aryan kingdoms and founded strong monarchies in India; and after domination of several centuries, those warriors disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence. Even the names of the heroes, who fought the battles and subjugated the country from the Himalayas to the Vindhya Hills, have passed like the memory of the shepherd kings. Buddhism, the religion they embraced and propagated, has handed down to us the bare names of a few of the Great Warriors. A few references to their greatness are to be found only in the literature of their enemies.

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1. Quoted by Sir William Hunter, *Indian Empire.*
2. *Daily Life and Work in India* (London 1888), p. 110.
3. Scythians are also called Sakas, Turuskas, Turanians and also by the Chinese name Yuch Chi, appearing in the Chinese Chronicles, which furnish the principal source of our information about these people. (See Max Muller, *Heritage of India.*)

Scarcely a record of the conquests of those powerful, vigorous and populous tribes has been preserved.

The political supremacy of the Brahmanic people disappeared in about 700 B.C., but racial hatred of Brahmanism survived with greater vigour; the Aryans despised the non-Aryans as "social and religious outcastes" and refused all social and ceremonial intercourse and contact with them. This uncompromising hatred of Brahmanism for the "non-Aryan mankind" eventually gave birth to Buddhism. The same hatred and affront of the Caste System obliged the early Scythian rulers of India to espouse the cause of the new religion and their unstinted support, seated the new religion on the thrones of their empires. Buddhism overshadowed Brahmanism and dominated the scene for over ten centuries.

The rise of Buddhism, the serious reverses suffered during one thousand years, convinced the Brahmans of the later ages (A.D. 700-800) of the mistake of their ancestors and armed them with the prudence that it was to their advantage to conciliate the Scythians whose attachment promised armed protection[1] and whose resentment held serious danger. The new Brahman perceived solid benefits in a compromise with the martial race and surpassed his ancestors in cleverness. Temples were thrown open for worship of the Scythian master; social law was offered to guide their footsteps; Aryan rites and rituals were employed to adorn their ceremonies; and all the possible servile flattery was lavished on the untutored Scythians. By the peculiar arts of flattery and subtle diplomacy, the Scythian attachment was seduced to the cause of Brahmanism and, by the promise of rewards in future life, the Scythian arms were successfully employed in extirpation of Buddhism. Yet the new Brahman was as much Aryan as his forefathers and as much racial-minded as his "noble" ancestors who had devised the "Caste System." He was not prepared to surrender the lofty pretensions of his "superior origin" nor was he prepared to pollute the Aryan blood by allowing it to be mingled with that of the Scythian. What *modus operandi* could engage the

1. The most outstanding feature in this period was the rise of the warlike race of the Rajputs and the foundation of numerous Rajput kingdoms in North India. During the rise of the Rajputs, periods preceding and following the supremacy of the first and the last Gupta dynasty, many foreign races like the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Huns had come to India, settled in the country and merged in the older population, having adopted the manners, customs and religion of their Hindu neighbours. These Hinduised foreigners formed a new race in which the warlike qualities of the sturdy peoples of Central Asia were united with their devotion to, and pride in, the Hindu religion and tradition. The chiefs of these new races claimed their descent from the old Hindu gods, the Sun, the Moon and Agni, etc. The Hindu priests found in them the firmest upholders of Hinduism. And since government and fighting were their chief occupations, they were recognised by the Hindu priests as Kshatriyas. The chiefs and their followers called themselves Rajputs or (Rajputras or "princes"). Thus the new Kshatriyas and the Rajputs became identical terms and the portions of northern plains originally settled by them got the name of Rajputana. One of these Rajput races are the Gurjaras who in the first half of the eighth century ruled Eastern Rajputana and Malwa. The ruling family belonged to the Prathara clan and hence the dynasty of king is known in history as the GURJARA PRATHARA. (N. N. Ghosh, *Early History of India*, pp. 343-344.)

useful attachment of the "Scythians," without surrendering the Brahmanic prejudices and hatred for the non-Aryan mankind, was the vexing question that confronted Brahmanism. The Brahmanic cunning rose to the occasion and in contradistinction to his own, "Kshatriya," the Brahman devised a special word of "Rajput" (meaning son of the ruler) for the unlettered Scythian. His genius spun up multiple myths and legends to relate the "glorious birth" of "Rajputs" to deceive their undeveloped understanding and soothe their rude variety; and the skilful Brahman, without sacrifice of any scruples and without running any risk of polluting the Aryan blood, offered to embrace the martial race of Scythians as champions of Brahmanism.

The exploits of the famous Toramana and his son Mohiragula, whose genius and vigour subverted the various kingdoms in India and established the Scythian suzerainty, were no way inferior to their cousins, the famous Alaric and Attila whose arms repeatedly humbled the Romans. But, like the Western barbarians, the Scythians of India could neither read nor write; their undeveloped minds, in the absence of any Scythian or Hun philosophy of life, were open to any new impressions and politeness; and the flattering arts of the Brahman had an appeal to the Scythian vanity. Imperceptibly, the Scythians readily accepted for themselves the class-name "Rajput," acknowledged the Brahman for their teacher and friend and the Brahmanic temple as their religion, while the class-name "Jat" was coined for the inferior ranks. It is an acknowledged fact, acknowledged by even the Brahmanic writers,[1] that neither the Rajputs nor the Jats were "Kshatriyas" or Aryans or a part of Brahmanism; they are the descendants of the different tribes of the great Scythians and the Huns who overturned the thrones and for centuries ruled the destiny of India. Likewise Marathas are also non-Aryans and non-Brahmanic people; but their origin as Dravidians or Scythians yet needs investigation.

Nothing would be more incorrect than to identify the "Rajputs" with "Kshatriyas."[2]

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1. (*a*) "Complications were introduced by the influx of foreigners, sections of whom were admitted into the framework of Caste. Some of the earlier foreign immigrants rank as degraded Kshatriyas in the legal codes. Those who come after the fall of the early Gupta empire and carved out independent or semi-independent principalities for themselves usually found a place among the thirty-six clans of the Rajputs, who now take the place of the Kshatriya families of olden times. Among the new Rajput clans, the Huns and the Pratiharas or Parihars deserve special mention. According to the view generally held by scholars, the Pratiharas belonged to the race of the Gurjaras who came into prominence for the first time in the sixth century A.D. While the ruling families of foreign immigrants and Hinduised border tribes often ranked as Rajputs, the rank and file came under less exalted social groups like the Gujars, the Dhaki Khasiyas, the Bhotiyas and others." (Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India.*)

(*b*) N. N. Ghosh, *Early History of India*, pp. 343-344.

(*c*) Also see Col. Tod's famous work: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.*

2. An Association in 1939 was formed by some young Rajputs at Ajmer under the name "Rajput-Scythians," with "Man Singhji" as its president. Among its main objects, it had an ambitious programme "to revive the Scythian origin of Rajputs, to overthrow the Brahmanic yoke and existence for Rajputs as the descendants of the great Scythians."

Brahmanism had a class of fighters of its own by the name "Kshatriyas," who valiantly fought and established the Aryan empires. This military community had ever been proud of their caste and traditions. The Kshatriyas are the heroes of the epic legends which have been preserved in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Unlike the "Brahmanas," "Kshatriyas" at no stage sank in public reverence or social estimation nor the name "Kshatriya" fell into disuse. There was, thus, no earthly justification for prompting the "Kshatriyas" to renounce their ancestral and legendary name and relinquish their vanity for adopting a new class-name "Rajput" which is divulged in history for the first time in the eighth century.

The Scythian origin of Rajputs is also confirmed and illustrated by conflicting traditions, customs and manners of the two peoples. According to Herodotus, Scythians used to strangle a favourite wife or concubine to enable her to accompany a deceased husband. It was an outgrowth of a belief in ghosts. The dead man was supposed to require the society of a favourite wife or concubine in the world of shades. The Aryans had no such custom. In the ancient Vedic rite of cremation, there is no appearance of Sati. After the great battle between the Pandavas and Kauravas, the "dead bodies of the slain were burnt on funeral-piles, but none of the widows were burnt with them. Again, none of the numerous queens of Dasaratha were put to death at his funeral obsequies. On the contrary, according to the ancient Aryan customs, if a man died childless, his widow was expected to bear a son to the nearest kinsman; but otherwise the widows of a king continued to live in the royal residence under the protection of his successor."[1]

"The rite of Sati, as was practised by the Rajputs in the past, was a Scythian usage modified by Aryan culture. The bodies, dead and living, were no longer buried, but burnt. The female was no longer slaughtered as an unwilling victim to the selfish sensuality of a barbarian. On the contrary, she was the widow of a high-souled Rajput, the reflex of his chivalrous devotion, prepared to perish with him in order that she might accompany her deceased lord to a heaven of felicity. She ascended the pile as the chariot of fire which was to carry her away to the arms of her glorified bridegroom in the realms of bliss."[2]

Again polyandry, which bestows upon the younger brothers the privileges of the bed of the eldest brother's wife, was a recognised institution of the Aryan family. *Mahabharata* transports to us that before the Pandavas commenced clearing a new settlement at Indraprastha, they married the princess Darupdi amongst them, and she became the wife not only of Arjuna, but of all the five brothers. Such a depraved custom never polluted the Scythian or Rajput society.

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1. J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*
2. Ibid.

Marathas

Likewise, Marathas are also non-Aryan and non-Brahmanic people; but their Dravidian or Scythian origin yet needs investigation.

"The etymology of the word Maratha ," writes Richard Temple in his article: "The Maratha Nationality," appearing in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "is uncertain. The name does not indicate a social or a religious sect; it is not even tribal. It embraces the people who dwell in the region of Maharashtra." Marathas are essentially non-Aryan and, in the terminology of Brahmanism, "Shudras and outcastes." They have their own language called Marathi, a copious, flexible and sonorous tongue."

"The ordinary Marathas," describes, R. Temple, "who form the backbone of the nation, have plain features, an uncouth manner, a clownish aspect, short stature, a small but wiry frame. Their eyes, however, are bright and piercing, and under excitement will gleam with passion. Though not powerful physically as compared with the northern races of the Panjab and Oudh, they have much activity and an unsurpassed endurance. Born and bred in or near the Western Ghat mountains and the numerous tributary ranges, they have all the qualities of mountaineers. Among their native hills they have at all times evinced desperate courage. Away from the hills they do not display remarkable valour, except under the discipline which may be supplied by other races. For such organisation they have never, of themselves, shown any aptitude. As husbandmen they are not remarkable; but as graziers, as cartmen, as labourers, they are excellent. As artisans thay have seldom signalised themselves, save as armourers and clothweavers."

The Maratha soldiers have been notorious for their practice of gang-rape in invaded territories from a very early time. In 1683 when they invaded the Goa districts under the eyes of their king Shambhuji, they committed this kind of outrage. A contemporary Portuguese account of that war states: "These enemies were so barbarous that when a woman appeared very beautiful (lit., best) to them, five or six of them violated her by lying with that woman alone. Up to now nowhere else in India has such barbarity been seen, nor even among the Kafris (Negroes). For this reason, many women of Margaon. . . . threw themselves into Pools, where they died of drowning. Others who bravely resisted the lewd intentions of some of the enemy soldiers were killed with strokes of the broadsword, and of some others the breasts were cut off." [1]

"Their strength lay," writes Lane-Poole, "in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Western Ghats, which climb precipitously to the great plateau that stretches right across the Deccan to the Bay of Bengal. Between the Ghats and the sea lies the Konkan, where deep valleys and torrent-beds lead from the rocks and forests of the mountain ridge to the fertile plains of the humid tract near the sea, where

1. See J. N. Sirkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 49.

the torrents merge in sandy creeks among thickets of mangroves. The Ghats and the Konkan were the safe retreats of wild beasts and wiry Marathas."

"These people had never made," in the words of Lane-Pohle, "any mark in history before the reign of Shah Jehan. They were peaceful, frugal husbandmen, like the mass of the lower orders of Hindus, and gave no trouble. Their chiefs, or village headmen, were Sudras, of the lowest of the four castes, like their people, though they pretended to connect themselves with the noble caste of Kshatriyas. In the silent times of peace, the Marathas enjoyed the happiness of the nation that has no history. War brought out their dormant capacities, and their daggers soon cut their name deep in the annals of India. The king of Bijapur was responsible for educating this hardy race for their career of rapine. They formed a large proportion of his subjects, and their language became the official script of the revenue department of his kingdom. Gradually they came to be employed in his army, first in garrison duty, and then in the light cavalry, a branch of service for which they displayed extraordinary aptitude. Some of them rose to offices of importance at Bijapur and Golkonda. One of these officers, Shahji Bhosla, once a rebel against Shah Jehan in the Konkan (1634) and afterwards governor of Poona and Bangalore, was the father of Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha power."

Marathas have "always formed," in the words of Temple, "a separate nation or people and still regard themselves as such." Their hatred for non-Marathas is as notorious as the hatred of the Brahmans for non-Aryan mankind. Their ravages and destructions never spared Brahmanic temples nor the Brahmans.

An eye-witness, the Bengali poet Gangaram, thus describes the Maratha atrocities in Bengal: "The Bargis[1] began to loot the villages. Every class of men took to flight with their property. . . . when suddenly the Bargis came up and encircled them in the plain. They snatched away gold and silver, rejecting everything else. Of some people they cut off the hands, of some the noses and ears; some they killed outright. They dragged away the beautiful women, tying their fingers to their necks with ropes. When one Bargi had done with a woman, another seized her; the women shrieked in the agony of ravishment. The Bargis, after thus committing all sinful acts, set these women free. Then, after looting in the open, the Bargis entered the villages. They set fire to the houses, large and small, temples and dwelling-places. After burning the villages they roamed about on all sides plundering. Some victims they tied up with their arms twisted behind them. Some they flung down and kicked with their shoes. They constantly shouted, 'Give us Rupees, give us Rupees, give us Rupees.' Where they got no Rupee, they filled their victims' nostrils with water or drowned them in tanks. Some were

1. Marathas were also called Bargis. Bargis is a corruption of the Persian word *Bar-gir*—meaning coolies, low-castes.

put to death by suffocation. Those who had money gave it to the Bargis; those who had none had to give up their lives. It was only after crossing the Bhagirathi that people found safety."

Another contemporary, Vaneshwar Vidyalankar, the Court Pandit of the Maharajah of Bardwan wrote in November, 1744: "Shahu Rajah's troops are niggard of pity, slayers of pregnant women and infants, of Brahmans and the poor, fierce of spirit, expert in robbing the property of everyone and in committing every sinful act. They created a local cataclysm and caused the extirpation of the people of the Bengal villages like an (ominous) comet. . . . In one day they can cross a hundred yojans. They slay the unarmed, the poor, women and children. They rob all property and abduct chaste wives. If it comes to a battle, they secretly flee away to some other country. Their main strength lies in their marvellously swift horses. Such was the tumultuous ocean of Burgi troops."

The historians Salimullah and Ghulam Husain Salim confirm this account. They write: "The Bargis cut off the ears, noses and hands of multitudes of people, or killed them with many kinds of torture and suffering,—by gagging their mouths with bags of dust or drowning them. They destroyed the honour of the people" (i.e. outraged the women). The letters from the French factory at Chandarnagar and the English settlement of Calcutta tell the same tale of oppression.

Writing about their atrocities in Bengal, Gangaram writes: "As soon as Bhaskar arrived again, he summoned all his captains and ordered them, 'Draw your swords and kill every man and woman that you see.' When the commander spoke thus, they plundered and slew on every side with shouts of kill ! kill !! Brahmans, Vaishnavs, Sannyasis, women and cows were slaughtered by the hundred." The universal outrage committed on women by the raiders as reported by this observer has been mentioned already.

"In their attempt to escape from such rape and slaughter, the fugitive population had to undergo unspeakable privations."

Parsis

This small tribe, Persian in origin, migrated to India in seventh century and settled in the neighbourhood of Surat. They zealously took to business and their busy and enterprising habits have made them an important section of the population of Bombay and Western India.

The Parsis still adhere to the ancient religion of their prophet, Zoroaster. Zoroaster's religion possessed that mode of faith which could make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind and enjoined such deities as are analogous to the dictates of our own hearts. Celebacy and fasting, the common means of acquiring the Divine favour, have been condemned with abhorrence, "as criminal rejection of the best gifts of providence. The saint like others is obliged to beget children, to plant useful trees, to destroy noxious animals, to

carry water to the dry lands of Persia and to work out his salvation by pursuing all labours of agriculture." According to Zendevasta, "He who sows the ground with care and diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit, than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers." "But the sublime truths" of the religion are disgraced by the institution of "destour" and "tithes." "Though your good works," says the prophet, "exceed in number the leaves of the trees, the drops of rain, the stars in the heaven, or the sands on the sea-shore, they will all be unprofitable to you, unless they are accepted by the destour, or priest." To obtain the acceptance of this guide to salvation, one must faithfully pay him tithes "of all you possess, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. If the destour be satisfied your soul will escape hell-tortures; you will secure praise in this world and happiness in the next. For the destours know all things, and they alone deliver all men." The "destour" thus reigns supreme in the religion of Zoroaster.

Christians

The origin of Christianity in India is obscure. According to W. W. Hunter: "Early tradition, accepted popularly by Catholics and more doubtfully by Protestants, connects it with St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have preached in Southern India, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; to have founded several churches; and finally, to have been martyred at the Little Mount, near Madras, in 68 A.D. The Catholic tradition narrates further that a persecution arose not long after, in which all the priests perished; that many years later, the Patriarch of Babylon, while still in communion with Rome, heard of the desolate state of the Indian Church, and sent forth bishops who revived its faith; that about 486 A.D., Nestorianism spread from Babylon into Malabar." Whatever be the case, the fact is that the end of the ninth century when the Portuguese first opened the navigation to India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar and Madras. These converts, as attested by their colour, features and language, were a fragment of non-Aryan people who ranked as the "Shudra" or "Untouchables." The new religion infused a new life; and in arms and in arts, the new converts were inferior to none. The husbandmen cultivated the palm tree, the merchants were engaged in the pepper trade, the soldiers preceded the Nairs or nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude of the king of Cochin and the Zomorin himself.

The native Christians acknowledged an Indian sovereign, but were governed even in temporal concerns by the bishop of Angamala The Portuguese discerned in them an unpardonable "guilt of heresy. and schism," and tortured them to submit themselves as the subjects of the Roman pontiff—the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe; but persecution could not shake the attachment of the Christians of St. Thomas to the faith of their ancestors and they remained

rigidly adhered to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch. With the progress of the Portuguese power stern measures were taken; all correspondence with the Nestorian Patriarch was intercepted; several of the Nestorian bishops expired in prison; and eventually "the flock without a shepherd" was assaulted by "arts of the Jesuits" and the "zeal of Alexis de Menezes," the archbishop of Goa who presided at the Synod of Diampur; Menezes consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church. Malabar was reduced to acknowledge the yoke of the Pope, of the Primate, and of the Jesuits, and patiently endured the servitude or hypocrisy of about sixty years; but as soon as the Portuguese Empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted with vigour and effect the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of thirty thousand native Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants. The Indian archdeacon assumed the character of a bishop, and since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar.

The trading companies of Holland and England flung open fresh and vast avenues to the ambition of the Christian missionaries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a genuine zeal excited the missionaries of England, to spread over India for propagation of the Gospel. They visited the huts of the untouchables; they toiled with their illiteracy and fought against their disease; they started schools, and opened hospitals. The seeds were not sown on a barren soil; the harvest was rich; and in 1872, it was found that one per cent of the entire population of India had submitted to the religion of Christianity.

But during the eighties of the eighteenth century when Christianity was advancing with a steady progress, political considerations of the British Imperialism merged the untouchables and low-castes in the Brahmanic fabric; and classified them as a part of Brahmanism; the political alliance with Brahmanism closed the door of conversion and thereby denied the benefits which Christianity could have conferred on the suffering humanity, disgraced and degraded under the odious names "untouchables," "low-castes," "Shudras."

Muslims

Muslims entered into India in A.D. 910, on defensive expeditions under the young commander, Mohammed bin Qasim against Dahir, [1]

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1. The principality of Sind is mentioned in the narrative of Bana as one of the territories overrun by Harsha. In the days of Heouen Thsang, it was ruled by a non-Aryan dynasty (contemptuously called Shudra dynasty by the Brahmanic writers) which had embraced Buddhism as its religion. During the period of calamitous persecution of Buddhism, the Brahman minister Chach treacherously killed his master, slaughtered his family and occupied the throne. His sword and fire and that of his son exterminated Buddhism in that region. It is now asserted by the Brahmanic writers that certain Buddhists who had escaped the slaughter of the Brahman, out of revenge, joined Mohammed bin Qasim and guided his footsteps.

the Brahman ruler of Sind whose avarice had sapped the foundations of his rule and oppression had turned his subjects hostile. The Brahman was defeated; Arab rule was the result in Sind and Multan; and slowly the Muslim influence struck deep root in the country.

In about A.D. 997, Jaipal, the ruler of the Punjab, by a daring attack on Ghazni, invited the arms of Sabuktigen, and, in 1001, suffered a crushing defeat from his son, the famous Mahmud, who annexed the land of five rivers to his kingdom of Ghazni. Afterwards the daring and adventurous spirits penetrated into the vast lengths and breadths of India and established the Muslim influence far and wide over the subcontinent. The Muslim rule, which extended over eight centuries, introduced into India, among others, the idea of divine unity, universal brotherhood, equality of mankind, religious tolerance and a superior civilisation; and enriched the country with the wealth of accumulated learning of centuries and with new arts and sciences.

In 1872 Muslims in British India numbered 55 millions.

Sikhs

The Sikhs are neither a race, nor a nationality, nor a caste, but primarily the followers of a religion Sikhism, founded by the saint, Nanak by name. Sikhism, a revulsion against Brahmanism, adopted monotheism and fraternity of Islam as its creed and condemned Brahmanism and its Caste System with abhorrence. With its faith in Divine unity, and condemnation of the Caste System, the religion of Nanak claimed superiority over Brahmanism. But it is not the religion that gave the Sikhs prominence and importance; it was their fanatical zeal and daring that carved out for them a place in the history of the Punjab.

The total strength of Sikhs in the whole of India in 1872 was 4,306,000.

CHAPTER II

DECLINE OF ISLAM

Akbar, The Great Pagan—His Character and Illiteracy—His Fortune and Marriage Alliances—Akbar's Venal Flatterers, Faizi and Abul Fazl, and Their Influence over the Imbecile Emperor—Akbar Turns Apostate—His New Religion and His Worship of Superstition—Failure of Akbar's Religion—Akbar's Persecution of Islam—Introduction of Vices and Pollution of Public and Private Life—Grave Injury—Rise of Mercenary Spirit and Decline of Mughal Vigour and Disclpline.

Akbar, The Great Pagan

ISLAM'S decadence in India set in with Akbar, the Great Pagan. Our partial ignorance may receive him as a prudent and wise monarch, who extended to all the inhabitants of the Mughal Empire the benefits of a free and equal toleration and laboured to protect with an even hand the different religions of the Empire, and to allay the supposed theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people. But an accurate view of the character and conduct of Akbar, however, will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who himself became the author and leader of a faction. The actions of Akbar and the events of his life are not faithfully related by a candid historian, an impartial spectator of his life and death; but we enjoy, fortunately, the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers, meanest flatterers and his implacable critics. The author of the celebrated *A'in-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl, besides being a most "assiduous courtier" was always "eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested."[1] The only care of his life was "to praise and flatter Akbar"; he "attributes to Akbar a prescience which approaches to prophecy and powers almost supernatural[2];" and "his veneration" or hypocrisy," as Major Price observes, "amounted almost to adoration." Abul Fazl "wilfully concealed the facts damaging to the reputation of his master"; and his unique work *A'in-i-Akbari* is nothing but a "gloss flattery" of his master.[3] Inayatullah, another faithful courtier, the author of *Akbarnama* and Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, also could not afford to be frank and candid; and they never possessed nerves strong enough to record his frailties and all that could tend to disgrace Akbar. While fear of the vindictive wrath of the Emperor did not

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1. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, Vol. VI, "Akbarnama,"
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

permit publication of Abdul Qadir Badayuni's great work, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, during Akbar's life. Badayuni concealed it with great care; and it was published only after the author's death during the reign of Jehangir who confiscated its copies and banned their possession. Inferences and opinions may widely and sharply differ; but the unanimous evidence of his contemporaries confirm that a devout and sincere attachment for paganism constituted the ruling passion of Akbar; that the powers of his unenlightened understanding had been corrupted by superstition; and that the phantoms which existed in the mind of the Emperor had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the Empire.

Akbar had to combat no adversity nor face the encounters which ripened and widened Babar's vision. Luck saved him from the labours of a contest for the throne, but deprived him of serviceable lessons of life. Humayun left him an heir; Tardi Beg Khan's devout and sincere attachment to the house of Babar secured for him the throne of Delhi; and Bairam Khan and other nobles, attached by habit and by duty to the imperial dynasty, established and consolidated for him the Empire of Hindustan before he emerged from his teens. Deprived of the parental cares, he had grown up to manhood in the company of illiterate women, eunuchs and slaves whose minds were debased by the nature of their occupation, untaught and unaccomplished, with a mind darkened with superstition, and an understanding clouded by ignorance. A petted child, Akbar possessed neither application nor docility to compensate for the want of knowledge and experience. It is also doubtful if he was endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. The very major event of his life, the conquest of the fortress of Chitor, which succumbed to Alau-ud-din Khilji, in 1303, betrays the weakness of his mind if not the cowardice of his heart. This was the only warfare which merited the personal participation of the Emperor; but the wish for displaying a military genius was betrayed by a want of self-confidence. In face of a fierce opposition, his mind wavered; and in distress of the situation, Akbar loudly invoked the blessings of the Great Saint *Moin-ud-din Chishti* and vowed, in the event of his success, a foot-journey to Ajmer in gratitude.

Akbar owed his throne and his greatness to sheer fortune, neither to his sword nor to personal merit. It is in vain to search for an example of heroism or an act of nobility from his life which could enliven and adorn the pages of history, or to think of some achievement of lasting character or any memorable contribution which could serve mankind, the people or the country. It is equally futile to look for an event which signalised his military genius, the least requirement of rulers, or a gift of talented generalship as that of Aurangzeb or Babar, or of Alau-ud-din Khilji, Balban or Altmash, or of Bakhtiar Khilji, Aibak or Ghori. The pride he assumed from the unmerited success of his arms is rendered more contemptible when compared with the sublime achievements of those great generals.

No scruples burdened his light heart. He could conveniently forget all ties of attachment, bend his justice and silence the voice of conscience whenever required by the dictates, either of passion or of the maxims of his imperialistic policy. Abdul Qadir Badayuni might not be permitted to accuse the ambition or character of the great Mughal; but on a day of equal retribution Tardi Beg Khan, his greatest benefactor, Bairam Khan, his best patron, Mullah Yazdi, Moizul Mulk and other prominent people whose assassinations and murders have imprinted an indelible stain on the name of Akbar, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Akbar. His great friend and "conscience-keeper" Abul Fazl was slaughtered within his knowledge at the bidding and by the design of Jehangir, and the sceptre of justice, if rightly and justly directed, would have fallen on the guilty head of the Emperor's son. But history painfully records that the "long arm" of Akbar never stirred against the real murderer, the author of the conspiracy. He deliberated, he threatened, but could not punish; instead he sought the instrument of the murderer, for punishment.

Marriage Alliances

Akbar's matrimonial alliances with non-Muslim princely houses have been hailed as a masterly manoeuvre of political sagacity and foresight. But the "unsurpassing diplomacy" ascribed to Akbar, whereby he entered into with or inflicted upon Rajput houses those matrimonial alliances and consequently yoked them to his submission and loyalty, do not stand the test of an impartial reasoning. Nothing would be more fallacious than to think that marriage could compromise the ambitions, neutralise the prejudices of the conqueror and the conquered or fetter the avarice of the stronger. Nor could marriage level down or harmonise the differences of race and religion. All considerations and ties of endearments, as history observes, are subservient to political motives; the matrimonial ties have seldom proved a stabilising factor in a game of power politics. Could Akbar, otherwise than as Emperor of Delhi, dream of for the hand of any Rajput princess? Was the fate of the brave Rana of Mewar, the strongest among the Rajput rulers, who turned down the Emperor's request for the hand of a princess from his house, not a convincing example of the might of the Mughal arms to others of his race? Marriage no doubt serves a cheap bargain to secure temporary relief for the weak; but the weak writhes under the ties of the seeming strength and union, furiously awaits an opportunity to rid himself of the disgrace of weakness, and thus to square up the account. In fact, Akbar's matrimonial alliances did provoke no small heart-burning among the Rajputs, and "the name of Bhagwan Das," according to Col. Tod, was "execrated as the first who sullied Rajput purity by matrimonial alliance with Islamaite."

As soon as Constantius had taken possession of the Palace of Constantinople after the death of Constantine, the great Roman

Emperor, his first care was to exclude his two cousins, the illustrious Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the share which his deceased father had assigned them in the succession of his empire. The unfortunate princes by the serviceable arts of fraud were charged with incredible accusations and thereafter sentenced to death, nay massacred. Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and bestowed his own sister in marriage on Hannibalianus, his cousin. These alliances which the policy of Constantine, regardless of the public prejudice, had formed between the several branches of the Imperial House served only to convince mankind that "these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity." Again, in order to cement his political connection with his cousin, Gallus, Constantius married to him his sister, the Princess Constantina. But before long the emperor found that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin; and very soon the sentence of death was passed, and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in prison, like the vilest malefactor. With the very same Rajputs of Akbar, Mahabat Khan took captive his son, the Emperor Jehangir, at the bank of Ravi; the life of the Emperor as well as of the Mughal rule hung on the mercy of Mahabat's wish; and had he been a little or as ambitious as Jalal-ud-din Khilji there was an end of the Mughal Empire. Half the blood that ran in the veins of the Spanish Moors was Christian; and if the marriages could determine the fates of nations or empires, the Musalmans would never have vanished from Spain after a brilliant and benevolent rule of nearly eight hundred years. Almost all the illustrious Sultans of Turkey had the privilege of having in their harem a Christian princess and many of them were in fact the sons of Christian mothers; could such alliances mollify the Christian hatred and save the Turks from the fanatical fury of the Christian neighbours? The roots of a ruler lie in his administration and arms and not in marriage ties and that of an empire in that "Amurath should succeed Amurath," and not in marriages. The principle of survival of the fittest, and not the nuptial ties, thus determined the life of kings and empires.

Rajputs, like their forefathers, the Scythians, were a chivalrous people who would extend the hand of cooperation to anyone who could afford to receive them with a friendly warmth. They rendered meritorious services to Mahmud of Ghazni. Struck by their courage, he transported a large number of them to Ghazni and they cheerfully fought under his standard. Soyand Rai enjoyed Mahmud's confidence and commanded his troops in the Punjab dominion. After Mahmud, his son, Masud, commanded their loyalty, and Tilak was the Governor of his Indian Empire. Thereafter we meet the man, known to us as Mohammed of Ghor, who was the first to establish Muslim rule in India and raised Islam to the status of state religion in this country. A reconciliation between Mohammed

of Ghor and the Rajputs immediately followed Prithvi Raj's defeat at the plain of Taravari. The gracious Sultan, consoling Prithivi's son, Rainsi, on the misfortunes of wars, appointed him to the government of his father's dominions. Mohammed Tughluq's mother was the daughter of a Rajput chieftain; Feroze Tughluq was born of the wedlock between Rajab, young brother of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, and Naila, the daughter of Rana Mall Bhatti of Abohar. Rajputs held important positions under Ibrahim Khan Lodhi and the valour with which they fought against Babar at Panipat drew profuse admiration from the enemy. It was out of this very mutual spirit of cooperation that Musalmans also took service under the Rajput princes; they cheerfully preferred the yoke of Rana Sanga to that of Babar, and gallantly fought for Rana's cause in the battle of Sikri. After Babar had established himself, Humayun cultivated cooperation with the surrounding Rajput princes. Rani Kurnavati of Chitor became his "dear and virtuous sister" and Raja Biharimal of Ambar, an ally, Rana of Amarkot, received the fugitive Humayun with warm welcome at the fort of Amarkot and it was there that Hamida Bano gave birth to Akbar. Here in case of the Mughals, there was yet another affinity, the racial attachment. Rajputs as descendants of the Scythians were the cousins of the Mughals, the descendants of the Mongols. Their contact in India was but a reunion of the parted brothers. The nuptial alliances of Akbar with Rajputs and their loyalty to the Emperor were thus the outcome of mutual and martial friendship and not that the friendly alliances were the result of the nuptial endearments. These alliances, however spectacular they may be made to appear, were destitute of exhibiting any spectacular or extraordinary ability on the part of the Emperor, which should cause any wonder or surprise. In truth, his excess in this field was merely a freak of his wayward mind and to understand that one has only to acquaint oneself with the "adventures" of the Great Mughal in the domain of religion.

A Creature of Fortune

The ascent of Mughal greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than to the ability of the boy ruler. But a large concession has got to be made to the internal feuds and destructive dissentions of their enemies. The succession of Akbar was fortunately placed in the most disorderly and degenerate period on the one hand of Afghans, Turks and Persians in Central Asia and of the successors of Sher Shah on the other. An able chief in place of Hemu and unity of the Afghans in face of the common enemy would have easily repelled Bairam Khan and the tyrant of the Mughal ambition might have been obscurely lost on the defiles of the northwest mountains.

The melancholy truth about this great Emperor that repeatedly strikes the mind can be summarised thus: A creature of fortune and a dependent on fortune, Akbar, if he was stripped of his people

and cast naked into the world, would have immediately sunk to the lowest rank of society without a hope of emerging from his obscurity.

Venal Flatterers

Quite naturally, Akbar when he met (1774) Faizi and Abul Fazl, endowed with most survile manners and incomparable seductive address, could not face their towering genius nor could he stand the irresistible influence of their artful flattery. The untaught Emperor surrendered; and the unsurpassing talents of a parasite, the two brothers possessed, procured them complete dominance over his mind and imagination. Faizi, Abul Fazal and their father Mubarak "were not soldiers; nor did they possess any technical knowldege or training; their distinguishments comprised in their wonderful command on language and religious subtleties." They could patiently watch the soft and yielding moment of persuasion and dexterously apply the arguments which were best adapted to the moment and to the Emperor's mood and his understanding. Their labours were not unsuccessful. From the obscure station in life exposed to the rigours and hardships of want, the dexterous flatterers were hastily promoted to the rank of ministers of the state. Their skilful flattery procured them the honour of the "Conscience-keepers" of the "Great" Emperor.

Their interests induced the "upstarts" to keep the illiterate Emperor at a safe distance from the "pernicious influence" of other talented persons, and they found religion of Akbar the most suitable means to achieve their end. The crafty brothers confounded the unenlightened Mughal with subtle inquiries[1] and in course of time insensibly induced and provoked to disdain the salutary influence of the Qur'an. The meetings of the "learned" were artfully called with the insidious design of corrupting the faith of the illiterate Emperor. Instead of listening to and trying to understand the principles of Islam with that impartial attention which adds weight to the most respectable argument, Akbar heard with suspicion[2] and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness the doctrines of Islam for which he had already been persuaded to entertain an invincible aversion. With passage of time, he began to deride the religion of Mohammed and declared himself an advocate of Paganism. Eventually the overwhelmed

1. "Innovators and schismatics artfully started their doubts and sophistries, making right appear to be wrong, and wrong to be right. And so His Majesty, who had an excellent understanding and sought after the truth, but was surrounded by low irreligious persons, to whom he gave his confidence, was plunged into scepticism. Doubt accumulated upon doubt, and the object of his search was lost. The ramparts of the law and of the true faith were broken down; and, in the course of five or six years, not one trace of Islam was left in him. The state of affairs was changed." (Badayuni, *Akbar*, p. 58.)

2. "Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islamic revelations regarding resurrection, the Day of Judgement, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our Prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities he showed, in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands." (Badayuni, *Akbar*.)

victim turned apostate and thus disgraced his birth and cast a stain of infamy on the line of Timur.

The pliant parasites, however, had yet an uneasiness to disturb them. Akbar's pusillanimous mind, his inconstancy, the undeserved fates of Tardi Khan, of Bairam Khan, and of other nobles, made them apprehensive about their own fate. The ease with which they had acquired ascendance over the Emperor's mind inspired an awe lest at any time he should retrace his steps with the same capricious agility. The estrangement between Islam and Akbar, worked up by their intrigue and fraud and his apostasy and zeal for paganism, was, in their eyes, not firm enough as could alleviate their fears and ensure their interests. In their endeavours to reach the haven of security, the venal flatterers darkened the face of learning and instructed an oracle to the duped and confounded victim to found a new religion. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance that he had been chosen by the Heaven to reign over the earth; his success justified his divine title to the throne; and that time had reached when his spiritual lead should deliver the "afflicted" peoples of India from their tormenting religious factions. Faizi compiled in Arabic a dotless book; it was placed in a bush; and while Akbar, in company of his flatterers, as usual, passed by the bush, Faizi noticed something in it and that something then attracted the attention of everyone. To his "great surprise," the author found a book in the Bush and "the father and his sons" attested the wilful falsehood by solemn affirmation that the book had descended upon Akbar from the Heaven, and the fact that it was dotless proved it to be a divine book. "Better unborn than untaught, for ignorance is the root of mischief," rightly said Plato. The fool, who possessed no ability to discern the fraud, sincerely believed what the "two brothers" represented, received the book as a divine book descended upon him from the Heaven and earnestly welcomed the whispering to celebrate himself as a "Prophet." Within a short time, soaring on the wings of the mischievous and artful flatterers, Akbar had the disgrace to be the founder of a "mock religion," named by the dangerous sycophants as "Deen-i-Ellahie." Without the rigours of worship, hardships of devotion and meditation and without the trials and afflictions of temptations, the son of Humayun with all his vices and blemishes, wines and women, became a "Prophet." It was proclaimed to the world that "there is no god but God and Akbar is God's representative." And the flatterers celebrated the wisdom of their tool for having immortalised his name and won the applause of the Heaven. Fire-worship was inaugurated with great ceremony.[1] The moon and stars and the

1. Badayuni describes: "He (Akbar) directed that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl, and that after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished either by night or day,—for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from among the many lights of His creation.

"From his earliest youth, in compliment to his wives the daughters of the Rajas of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*,

Genii of the night began to receive their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Akbar. But the attention of Akbar was more devoutly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of the Greek and Roman mythology. His religion was disposed to adopt every article of faith which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant, with the popular mythology of the day.· He believed in the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of execrable rites, which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the work of creation, and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. Akbar became incapable of restraining the wanderings of fancy. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by splendour of his purple and sereneness of conduct, the Emperor, with respectful eagerness, surrendered himself to the meanest and ridiculous superstitious practices. He shaved his head. As a part of his prayer, he twisted his ears, slapped his face and meanly prostrated before the sun. He coloured his forehead, and wore queer robes and dresses. On the hearsay that soul of the good at death departs through the centre of the head, he had his head kept ever shaved in the middle to allow easy egress to the soul at that point. As a devotee of the sun, he would not tolerate any disrespect to his god; accordingly, an edict was issued directing the people to sleep with their heads towards the east and feet to the west. By another edict, drums were beaten at midnight and sunrise to rouse people for worship. The ridiculous practices made him the laughing-stock. Even the heathens were surprised and censored the extravagant superstition of the imperial "Prophet" which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Smith remarks: "The divine faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy."

The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, it was earnestly expected, would invoke respect for the new religion among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of the palace.

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which is a ceremony derived from fire-worship; but on the New-Year festival of the 25th year after his accession, he prostrated himself both before the sun and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

"On the festival of the eighth day after the sun's entering Virgo in this year, he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindu, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrist by Brahmans, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *rakhi* on the wrist, which means an amulet formed out of twisted linen rags. In defiance and contempt of the true faith, every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions, he treated as manifest and decisive. Those of Islam, on the contrary, were esteemed follies, innovations, inventions of indigent beggars, of rebels, and of highway robbers, and those who professed that religion were set down as contemptible idiots. These sentiments had been long growing up in his mind, and ripened gradually into a firm conviction of their truth."

As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth or of power, or of riches, would soon be followed by dependent multitudes. But to Akbar's great and genuine surprise, his arguments, his promises, and his rewards all were unsuccessful. None was willing to sacrifice his religion at any price. So much so that even the wives and concubines of the Emperor refused to follow him in his folly and his new religion. Not a single proselyte could be gained. Hope was also centred on the army, the most forcible engine of the absolute power. The faith of the soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction rather than of inquiry. It was believed that the minds of the unlettered soldiers would promptly yield to the weight of the imperial wish. Akbar readily applied himself with peculiar zeal to corrupt the religion of his troops. It was decided that the one who could never refuse the Emperor's wish should first be offered the bliss of the new faith. Accordingly the most loyal and faithful Qutub-ud-din Khan Koka was sent for. The invitation of an imperial despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune and whose frown was the messenger of death, is scarcely distinguished from a command. But to Akbar's great surprise and impotent rage, the legions of the Mughal army were as firmly devoted to the faith of their ancestors as to the fortunes of their Emperor. The imperial pride was mortified by the firmness of the soldier. Qutub bluntly spurned the offer, and at the same moment administered an admonition to the "Prophet" not to tread astray. The imperial prophet roared out of rage. But Qutub was steel; he offered to throw away his belt, his arms, and the ensigns of his office and exclaimed with a loud voice that he would obey none but Mohammed, the true Prophet of the one God. Qutub was considered mad; and Shahbaz Khan Kambo, another trusted royalist, was called. Kambo was more furious and disrespectful than Koka and brought more disgrace upon the imperial missionary. Disgraceful failures of further attempts, that proved that the armies trained under the standard of crescent were more fervently inclined to the religion of their forefathers than to the throne of their temporal master, dismayed the Emperor, hit his vanity and chilled his missionary zeal. The matter was in disgust left to the "Caliph": Abul Fazl. But the genius of Abul Fazl and power and wealth of the apostate were unequal to the enterprise of founding the religion which was destitute of divine inspiration, of sublime philosophy, of moral concepts and was not even susceptible of any solid or serviceable reformation. All their assiduous labours failed; allurements of gold and silver, temptations of rank, persecutions, injustice and tyranny could not add or win to their order one convert, and the number of the followers of the new imperial religion could not exceed the golden five—the flatterers Faizi, Abul Fazl and their father, Khan-i-Khanan and Hakim Abul Fath of Gilan. The seasonable "despatch" of the main actor, Abul Fazl, which no doubt saved the country from the horrors of a civil war, put an end to the new religion also. To the great chagrin of the

unsuccessful apostate, the party he had deserted triumphed in spite of his burning hatred and Islam shone better in adversity. The death of the "Prophet" was bitter, remorseful and instructive and his last moment might excite pity of mankind. There was no "faithful" to whom the voice of the dying Prophet could recommend the care of his funeral. The most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered fancy, and the weakness of mind; but the bitter reflections of his past perhaps had no parallel; and his alarmed mind seized by the invisible terrors of futurity. The Emperor wildly lamented the fatal mistake of his misguided apostasy and descended with shame and guilt into the grave.

Worship of Superstition

Akbar commanded the people to prostrate themselves before him; Muslim salutation was discontinued; the Muslim confession of faith disappeared from the coinage; Muslim calendar gave place to the Zoroastrian system. Islam lost the simile of royal patronage, ceased to be the state religion, and was deprived of the privileges that had been conferred on it by the Sultans of Delhi. But the matter did not rest there. Among the subjects of the "Great Mughal," Musalmans alone were excluded from the benefit of his "auspicious government." The influence of "flatterers" prompted the Emperor to embrace pagans alone as his "personal friends and brethren." The powers of government were entrusted to those who professed zeal to hit at the Musalmans. Superior and irreplaceable merit might deserve and obtain some extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Muslim officers were gradually removed from the key positions in the state services. None of his ministers was a Muslim. Historians have recorded without disagreement the list of his ministers who were flattered with the appellation of Akbar's ornaments: (1) Abul Fazl, (2) Faizi, (3) Man Singh, (4) Todar Mall, (5) Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim, and (6) Birbal. The semblance of names Abul Fazl, Faizi and Abdur Rahim perhaps may cause some confusion; but none among them was a Musalman. They had as much disclaimed Islam as their master.

Persecution of Islam

Cruel laws were published to de-Muslimise the nation; as for instance:

(1) Circumcision of boys below the age of twelve years was banned and thereafter it could be done only if the boy consented.

(2) A non-Muslim woman married to a Musalman though with her voluntary consent was to be restored to her parents unless they agreed otherwise.

(3) The marriages between near relations such as cousins were prohibited.

(4) No one to marry more than one wife (while Akbar had,

apart from a train of concubines, eighteen wives living at one and the same time).

The future hopes were extinguished by the declared partiality of the apostate. Muslims, who beheld with horror and indignation first the apostasy and thereafter the new religion of Akbar, had much more to fear from his power than from the arguments of his cunning "Conscience-keepers."

Akbar's anti-Muslim edicts and endeavours incensed the general Musalmans and provoked a storm of pious invectives from the learned. The "Conscious-keepers" found a most welcome opportunity to strike. It was assiduously and studiedly insinuated into the Emperor's mind that the Afghan, Ibrahim Lodhi, faced the Mughal, Babar; his grandson Sher Shah drove Babar's son Humayun out of Hindustan and thus avenged his grandfather's defeat; the Mughal Humayun's son with his fortune was again pitched against the descendants of Sher Shah, that the Afghans and non-Mughals were irreconcilable enemies of the Imperial House and the other Musalmans were represented to have all along sided with the Afghans and were dangerously perfidious and unreliable; that it was dangerous and against the laws of personal safety to keep restrained the sword in the scabbard against such enemies. The imbecile Akbar was insensibly engaged in the snares of such subtle arguments, and propositions. The arguments appeared to deserve his most serious attention; he was easily convinced that his safety was incompatible with the freedom of "those people," and insensibly provoked to embrace a system of persecution against the followers of Islam. Almost the entire learned class was condemned as the enemy of the State. The personal guilt which every learned man had contracted in asserting his independence of spirit by prefering the national religion to the Emperor's sentiments was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. The revenge of the Emperor deprived them of their honours, of their freedom, and of their property. Their allowances were stopped, support withdrawn, and their privileges snatched. Old Houses were uprooted; their lives and fortunes were proscribed. A great portion of the "pious criminals" were apprehended; and the prisons destined for the vilest criminals were soon filled with a multitude of the learned "Ulema." A large number were exiled and banished. Many suffered death in cruel torments which were embittered by insult and derision. Heavy penalties were ordered against all who should presume to save a proscribed criminal from the "just" indignation of the Emperor. The story of those unhappy people and the circumstances of their death are buried in a mysterious obscurity by the court chronicler, Abul Fazl, who has celebrated, in his elaborate work, the virtues and piety of his hero, but his "prudent" silence on the subject of these tragic events excites in our breast the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration and of pity whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Akbar and his venal

flatterers. Among the foremost martyrs whose courage deserves the notice of posterity and who disdained the voice of prudence and declared the Emperor a misguided apostate and an enemy of virtue, were the Mullah Yazdi, the Chief Qazi of Jaunpur, and Moizul Mulk. By the arts of deceit and fraud they were invited for a religious discourse; and on their arrival at Wazirabad near Agra, the innocent guests were tied by hand and foot, cast into the Jumna and swallowed by the waves and waters of the river. Perhaps more important and more tragic were the trials and murders of Shah Abul Ala of Lahore and of his brother Abdul Nabi.

The behaviour and fortitude of those spiritual leaders, remarkable as it was, cannot escape our notice. Their unflinching fortitude in those sufferings and tortures turned blunt the edge of the severest animadversion of Abul Fazl and his master and their unwavering faith succeeded in tiring out the imperial malice and prejudice. The cunning Abul Fazl affected to pity the unhappy Musalmans "who were mistaken in the most and important object of their lives"; but his pity was degraded by contempt; his contempt was embittered by hatred; and his sarcastic appellations inflicted deep and deadly wounds. Every opportunity was embraced to inflict the utmost severity on Islam. But while, to the Emperor's disappointment, the sufferings of those noble souls brought to the fold of Islam thousands of fresh converts, the unjust persecutions of the followers of Islam exposed Akbar to the censure of the liberal portion of mankind who admired the conduct of the sufferers and to the ignominy which in every age and in every country attended the character of a capricious tyrant.

Pollution of Private and Public Life

History, which portrays the happenings of the past for the instruction of the future ages, records that the injury which flowed from Akbar's example and his unbounded licence of vice and folly was far more destructive, of a far more lasting character and of far more hideous consequences than the one inflicted by his sword and edicts. The people are usually fashioned according to the example of their king. Akbar's disdain for the salutary restraints of religion unleashed the urges of immorality, reduced the army to a mercenary profession, introduced abuse of luxury and corruption of manners, relaxed the nerve of discipline and bred up that supine indifference which sapped the vitality of the nation and at length shook the foundations of the Empire. His apostasy antagonised and detached the nation from state affairs and turned them disinterested in the fate and fortunes of the Emperor. The vice of maintaining one thousand hawks, one thousand dogs and hounds, and one thousand huntsmen, which is sufficient to sully the name of any emperor, disarmed the people of active virtues, debased the valorous and manly taste of the warriors and replaced the exercises of sword and bullet by the disgraceful practices of idlers. He shunned the simplicity of Babar and Humayun; and the luxurious dress

and artificial life which he chose to affect, and the pomp and vanity he adopted, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy, and undermined the manly mettle of the Mughals. Corrupted by the harem women and by his fortune, Akbar abandoned himself to pleasures though not with ungoverned fury. A long train of concubines and a large number of wives were insufficient to satisfy the "potence" of his passions. Wine-parties, luxurious entertainments, midnight dances, and licentious spectacles which present at once temptation and opportunity to female frailty, theatres and baths attended by a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels were introduced to soothe his carnal appetites. And in the midst of glittering pageantry, the master of Indian Empire, secure of his fortune, enjoyed the acclamations of the vile people, the flattery of his courtiers, and the songs of the poets who, for want of a more essential merit, were reduced to celebrate the divine graces of his person. The palace and the imperial table were filled with singers, dancers and all the various retinue of vice and folly and those parasites who practised the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applauded each word and every action of their immortal patron and strenuously praised his taste, his splendour, his vanity and his pomp which he was taught to consider as a part of his personal merits. His sensual ingenuity also introduced the "*Meena Bazar*," where elegance of dress, of motion and of manners gave lustre to beauty and fed the lust of eyes if not the warmth of embraces. Prostitution was developed into an art, and grew up to be a roaring trade; while the night clubs flowered up into flourishing towns in the suburbs of the capital cities of the Empire. Delhi and Agra, in particular, became the "abodes of happiness."[1] The tumult of virtue and conscience sank under the weight of corrupt taste. Wine and woman became the main pursuit of life. Convivial gatherings became the fashion of the time; and the flow of wine in wine-parties, the spectacle of the maids conspicuous for their age and beauty who attended to serve the guests, the delicate singers and the dancing parties, which tuned to please the eyes and ears of the assembled, exhibited the spirit of the age, the "greatness" of the Emperor and "glory" of the Empire.

Akbar's own two sons, Murad and Danyal, succumbed to "the heat of wine-cups." His third son, the heir apparent, who enjoyed the notoriety of an unrivalled drunkard, and an unsurpassing debauchee, in his astonishingly candid "Memoirs," relates how (like his wretched brothers Murad and Danyal) he had been addicted to intoxicating liquors from the age of eighteen and used to drink as much

1. "The quarter in Delhi," writes Sir William Hunter, "known as *Shaitanpura* or Devilsvilla, dates from Akbar's reign. The tide of immorality brought with it the lees of superstition. Witches, wizards, diviners, professors of palmistry, and miracle-workers thronged the capital. 'Here,' says a French physician at the Mughal court, 'they tell a person his fortune for half penny.' A Portuguese outlaw sat as wisely on his bit of carpet as the rest, practising astrology by means of an old mariner's compass and a couple of Romish prayer-books whose painted saints and virgins, he used for signs of the zodiac."

as twenty cups a day, at first, of wine, then of double-distilled liquor of violent potency. With passage of time, opium also gained his favour. In his later days, though he "reduced his potations, but still he was in the habit of becoming unconscientiously muddled every night." The refinements of the taste of wine and women, the bane of the Royal House, were cultivated and encouraged by the royal grace. Promotion and elevation depended on the devotion with which one could follow the Emperor in his vices and follies. So much so, the appointment of the Chief Qazi, the custodian of precepts and morals, was held by the person who, fearless of any censure, drank in public. The arts of luxury that corrupt the mind and the body were honoured; the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule. The contempt for female modesty and reverent age announced the universal corruption of the main cities of the Mughal Empire.

A Great Injury

In the faithful picture of Akbar, his imperfections and follies cannot be dissembled. An historian, adverse to the fame of Akbar, may have been guilty of exaggeration; but, as ill-luck would have it for Akbar, almost all the contemporary writers deplore the increase of luxury—the "curse of heaven's decree" and "depravation of manners." They plainly affirm that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; that the spirit and discipline fled; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and responsibility to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite. The enervating luxury, which infected the manners of the courts and cities, instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of legions. "Mughals came to India as hardy, rough warriors, unused to luxuries, delighting in feats of strength and prowess, filled with a fierce but simple zeal for their religion. They had not been long in the enjoyment of the fruits of their victory when all the demoralization, which fell upon the Romans, the Goths, the Persians, the soldiers of Hannibal, came also upon them. They lost their martial habits, their love of deeds of daring, their pleasure in enduring hardships in the brave way of war; they lost all their manliness with inconceivable rapidity. In seventy years there was no Mughal army that could be trusted to repel the foreign attacks; in its place there was a disorganized crowd of debauchers, miserable poltroons, who had drunk and fooled away their manhood's vigour and become slaves to all the appetites that make men cowards. The relaxation of discipline and the disuse of exercise rendered them less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the armours which they never wore. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short swords, and the shield which had subdued the world, insensibly

dropped from their hands."[1] Lane-Pool, describing the growing decadence writes: "Toleration had bred indifference, and success had engendered luxury; the hardy troopers of Balkh had grown soft in Capua of the Jamna, and their religious convictions had gone the way of the Deputy of Achaia. They had thrown away their old standard of manliness, and had become fops and epicures. Two of Akbar's sons died of drink, and the habit of intoxication had become so universal among the nobles and officials that even the Chief Kazi used to smuggle his daily dram into his house of a morning. The rough breath of their highland birthplace was changed to sickly essences; and the old battle-cry of Allah-o-Akbar had become a hollow symbol of the religion they had studied to forget. Childish superstition or impotent indifference had taken the place of the old faith; and immorality and debauchery had followed close upon the loosening of the religious bond."

1. Lane-Poole.

CHAPTER III

AURANGZEB

Decadence—Aurangzeb, the Ablest Son of Shah Jehan—Dara's Usurpation of Throne—War of Succession—Battle of Samugarh—Dara's Flight—Shah Jehan—Assassin's Dagger—Check on Mischief—Pursuit of Dara—Jaswant Singh—Dara's Arrest and Conviction—Battle of Khajwa—On the Crossroads—Choice—Herculean Task—A Man of Example—Virtuous and Indefatigable Aurangzeb—Reforms—Expansion of Mughal Empire—Bijapur—Golkunda—Akbar—Marathas—Arrest of Shambhu—Sahu—The English, Their Ambition—Invasion—Annihilating Defeats—Apology—Aurangzeb's Pardon and Restoration of English Trade—Aurangzeb's Ideal of Kingship—His Justice—Treatment with Officers—The Great Monarch—Hostile and Malignant Writers—False and Distorted Accounts of English Writers, Sirkar and Others—Their Motives and Their Outrageous Lies.

Decadence

"THE quarter of Delhi known as *Shaitanpara*, or Devilsvilla," writes Sir William Hunter, "dates from Akbar's reign. The tide of immorality brought with it the lees of superstition. Witches, wizards, diviners, professors of palmistry, and miracle-workers thronged the capital. 'Here,' says a French physician at the Mughal Court, 'they tell a poor person his fortune for a half penny.' A Portuguese outlaw sat as wisely on his bit of carpet as the rest, practising astrology by means of an old mariner's compass and a couple of Romish prayer-books, whose pictured saints and virgins he used for the signs of the zodiac . . . . One of Akbar's younger sons had drunk himself to death, smuggling his liquor in the barrel of his fowling-piece when his supply of wine was cut off." And the "system of compromise with strange gods," adopted and left to his posterity by Akbar, had "eaten the heart of the State religion." "The tide of immorality and degeneration unlocked by the laxity and the religious half-beliefs of Akbar," in the words of Hunter, "rolled on with an ever-increasing volume" and could be "stemmed neither by the son nor the grandson of the 'Grand Mughal.'" As we descend towards the reign of Shah Jehan, we find the royal house helplessly staggering in a whirlpool of an incredible demoralisation. The religion of the princes was determined by the impulse of the moment and their conscience was directed by their private interests. In the hope of engaging to his side the inclination of Rajputs and Brahmanic people in the coming contest for the throne of Delhi, Dara, the eldest son of the Emperor, an "ill-qualified general and statesman," rash, "overbearing" and "flattery-loving," eagerly employed his time in flirting with Brahmanism. An establishment of Brahman scholars was maintained by

his private purse and many Brahmanic works were rendered into Persian for the benefit of the prince. A book attempting to reconcile the conflicting creeds was also ascribed to the genius of Dara. He also lent an ardent ear to the religious suggestions of "Father Buzee," by which course, he expected, he would enlist for himself "the fidelity of the few Christian gunners" in the Imperial Army. The "rigid observance of the perpetual round of prayers" and the "long fasts of Islam were "distasteful and uncongenial" to his royal nature. Dara forgot that his childish criticism of Islam would alienate the sympathies of his own people. His next brother was Shuja—a prince, "capable of forming well-laid plans" but "robbed of all energy by an insatiable thirst for wine and an uncontrollable lust for women to execute them." In the midst of critical affairs, "he would suddenly shut himself up with the ladies of his harem, plunge himself for days together in drinking, singing and dancing" and no officer, who would consult his safety and interest, "could dare disturb his revels." Emulating his elder brother, Shuja, "with the object of securing the attachment of the Persian adventurers, then powerful at court and in the army, to his side" in the struggle which he foresaw must take place for the throne, deserted the faith of his parents, and transferred his religious fidelity to Shiaism. The "slender ability" of the fourth son of Shah Jehan, Murad, as well, had been "wrecked by an increasing indulgence at the table and dreadful drinking." A despiser of intrigue, his pride consisted in having "no secrets and mental reservations." He looked "only to his sword to win his way to throne."

Aurangzeb

"In the midst of this ambitious and voluptuous imperial family," as Hunter puts, "a very different character was silently being matured." It was Aurangzeb, the third brother, a singular contrast to the rest, gentle, unassuming, humble in manner, courteous and considerate in his general intercourse, yet dignified and princely; simple and self-denying in his daily life, austere in morals, devoted to study and philosophy, Aurangzeb was a "dervish born in purple." The jealousy of Dara nicknamed him as "*Faqir.*" Aurangzeb was the ablest among his brothers. But he was not merely the ablest among the sons of Shah Jehan; his abilities were unrivalled in India. The inimitable courage of the prince was accompanied by an equally inimitable scholarship. "He was," in the words of Khafi Khan, "as much a master of pen as of the sword." [1] Cool and calculating, Aurangzeb possessed the abilities of attaching to his interests the unpronounced and the wavering, of detecting and allaying germinant opposition, of perplexing, dividing and confounding open

1. "His memory," writes Hunter, "was a store-house of the literature of Islam. He had himself a facility for verse, and wrote a prose style at once easy and dignified, running up the complete literary gamut from pleasantry to pathos. His Persian Letters to his Sons, thrown off in the camp, or on the march, or from a sick-bed, have charmed Indian readers during two centuries, and still sell in the Punjab bazaars."

enemies. Praises of Aurangzeb were repeated in every part of the Empire, except "in the palace of Dara"; and only those "who dreaded his virtues were opposed to his elevation as they justly considered the friend of the people as enemy of the court." Nature had endowed Aurangzeb with an exceptional and incomparable intelligence, consummately capable of penetrating and overreaching devious or dark machinations of others; he could not be outdone by an intrigue or secret manipulations.

(*i*) Dara had a new palace built in 1644 at the bank of Jamna, with a beautiful underground chamber rising just above the river water, but fitted with only one door to lead in and out. After it was furnished the Crown Prince invited Shah Jehan and his three brothers to the new mansion and seated them in the underground hall. But Aurangzeb, surveying the chamber, "at once rushed back and sat down close to the door." Dara, casting a derisive glance, winked at the Emperor to convey: "See where he is sitting." His Majesty addressed to Aurangzeb: "My child, though I know you to be learned and hermit-like, yet it is also needful to maintain one's rank. (There is a popular saying:) 'If you do not maintain your rank, you are an atheist.' What necessity is there for you to sit down in the path by which people pass, and in a position offending your brother's dignity?" Aurangzeb replied, "I shall tell you, sire, the reason of my sitting here afterwards." But on being further pressed to move in, he went away to the nearby mosque on the plea of performing his afternoon prayer and from there went away to his own house without taking Emperor's permission. Shah Jehan grew angry and forbade the prince from the audience. But Aurangzeb was indifferent. After about seven months the Emperor sent Jehanara (the Crown Princess) to Aurangzeb's house to know the reason of his coming back on that day without Emperor's leave and of his sitting down on a low level. On her enquiry Aurangzeb replied, "The underground room had only one door and if that brother intentionally so acted that, after making his father and three brothers sit down in that underground room, he repeatedly came in and went out for the necessary supervision of the entertainment, (I feared that) he might shut the door, and then all would be over (with us). If he acted thus through carelessness, it repeatedly struck me that I should guard the door while he was inside the room. But His Majesty out of a sense of dignity forbade my action. So I came out after begging God's pardon." Struck by the sharp intelligence of the prince, the Emperor immediately summoned him and conferred huge favours on him.

(*ii*) After taking the reluctant decision to play his part in the war of succession, Aurangzeb had ordered his army to march towards Agra. But to the surprise of many, the very next day while encamping at Arsul, four miles from Aurangabad, he ordered a halt of ten days on the pretext that his men could obtain their full requirements. Najabat Khan, a devoted noble and a reliable friend, immediately approached and said to Aurangzeb, "Declaring the intention to march and then ordering a halt in this manner will embolden the enemy." Aurangzeb smiled and said, "First, tell me how they will be emboldened, and then I shall give you my answer." The Khan replied, "When the enemy will hear of our long halt here, they will send a strong force to bar our path." Aurangzeb said, "That is the very essence of (my) policy. If I march quickly I shall have to encounter the whole army (of Dara at one place). But if I delay here, my contest will be with the first division (of the enemy's) force. It is easier to defeat the first division than to defeat the whole army. In case he himself (i.e. Dara) has the boldness to advance and crosses the Narbada, his condition will be this (Verse):

> The man who goes far from his asylum and home
> Becomes helpless, needy, and forsaken.
> In the water even the lion becomes the prey of fishes,
> On dry land the crocodile becomes the food of ants.

This delay is for the above purpose and not for whiling away my time. Nay more, there is another object, on which the advantage already mentioned is dependent. This second object is that I may know the character of the men accompanying me, both poor and rich; if a man delays in spite of his being well-to-do, then it is better not to take him along any farther from this place, because in future this circumstance will prove a source of utter weakness. In case I make a quick march, those nobles whose sincerity is doubtful may show negligence and delay, and then the distance (from my base) being great, it will be impossible to remedy the evil, and I shall have either to helplessly leave them defaulting or to return and correct them."

Najabat Khan kissed Aurangzeb's feet and cried out, "God knows best where to send one on a prophetic mission."

The prudence of Aurangzeb was soon confirmed by the conduct of Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the officers appointed to the Deccan. He did not accompany Aurangzeb on the first day's march, and on the second day's march, he submitted, "In consideration of my being a servant of Shah Jehan, I have no help but to remain here by resigning my military rank. I have no connection with Dara Shukoh. One of my daughters had been married to you and another

to Murad Bakhsh. I have no relationship with Dara Shukoh which it might be necessary for me to respect. Your Highness knows well that I have not shown, in any battle or halt, any shortcoming or holding back which may be attributed to cowardice or disloyalty."

Aurangzeb replied, "Indeed, the requisites of fidelity to salt are not distant from men of pure blood (like you). But I am making some days' halt here; I wish to see you (daily) for some days, and shall give you leave to depart when I resume my march. What need is there that you should turn a private person (*faqir*)?" Shah Nawaz Khan said, "This, too, is opposed to a servant's duties. This hereditary servant has set his heart on the work of the Emperor Shah Jehan."

After this Aurangzeb gave out that he was down with looseness of the bowels. The nobles who came to pay the (customary) visit to the sick, were ordered to enter alone and one by one, leaving their attendants outside. Thus, on the second day, when Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan came, he was promptly arrested and put in prison at Burhanpur. After the victory over Dara Shukoh, the request of Aurangzeb's daughter Zebunnisa Begam procured the release of her maternal grandfather and also his appointment as the Governor of Gujerat. But Aurangzeb said, "My mind is not reassured (about him). I have issued this order as I could not help it, but I shall reconsider it carefully afterwards. As he is a Sayyid, it is hard to order his execution. Otherwise there is the well-known saying, 'A severed head tells no tale.' "

What he had said was afterwards proved true by the events that followed Dara's flight; the Khan betrayed Aurangzeb and joined Dara in the battle of Ajmer but was slain in the midst of the fight.

(*iii*) In 1679, Aurangzeb, in his action against the conspiracy of Durgadas of Jodhpur, Raj Singh of Udaipur and others to usurp the Jodhpur state, had sent the Imperial Army under Akbar, his son, from Ajmer to punish Raj Singh. Raj Singh fled from "place to place" and Akbar gained victory after victory. But reaching the Chitor district, to the surprise of all, he suffered heavy reverses. Aurangzeb smelled treason, and transferred the prince, in spite of his explanation of "inexperience," to Marwar.

The Emperor had been staying at Ajmer, and the bulk of his army was detached under Akbar. On 7th January, 1681, he received the startling news that Prince Akbar had rebelled "at the instigation of the Rathors and some traitors among the imperial servants," and issued a

manifesto signed by four mullas deposing Aurangzeb for having violated the laws of Islam, and proclaimed himself Emperor, and was planning to attack his father who was slenderly guarded. Loyal officers made forced marches to join the Emperor, who boldly issued from Ajmer and reached Dorahah (ten miles southwards) on the 15th. Akbar too arrived within three miles of the place and encamped for the night. The battle was fixed for the next morning. But at night Tahawwur Khan (surnamed Padishah Quli Khan), the chief adviser of Akbar, came to the Emperor's Court with the design of assassinating Aurangzeb.[1] He was immediately allowed the permission of interview; but his refusal to take off his arms before entering the Emperor's tent led to a serious altercation with the courtiers and he was beaten to death. Aurangzeb meanwhile sent a fake letter to Akbar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the prince for his success in pretending to rise in rebellion in order to deceive the Rajputs and bring them easily within the clutches of the imperial army!

The Rajput leaders on intercepting this letter went to Akbar for an explanation, but could not see him as he was then sleeping. The journey of Padishah Quli Khan to the imperial camp doubled their suspicion of a trap having been laid against them; the vast Rajput army melted away during the night and Aurangzeb was saved! Next morning (16th January) Akbar woke up to find himself utterly deserted, and he fled from his camp, leaving his family and children behind.[2]

"No one could doubt his courage; indeed he had," writes Hunter, "slain a lion set free from the intervening nets usually employed in the royal chase." At the age of seventeen his father sent him to govern Southern India where he took many forts, and effected a settlement of the country which was hitherto considered a most difficult task. Having tasted for eight years the viceregal splendour, Aurangzeb, in the bloom of his youth at the age of twenty-five, relinquished the world, and retired to the wild regions of the Western Ghats to pass the rest of his life in seclusion and prayer. Shah Jehan flew to anger, stripped "the 'impudent' son of his military rank, and deprived him of his personal estate." But next year "it was found expedient to employ 'the very same impudent son,' Aurangzeb, in the government of another province; and two years later he received the great military command of Balkh. On his arrival, the enemy swarmed like locusts upon his camp. The attempt to beat them off lasted till the hour of evening prayer, when Aurangzeb, calmly dismounting from his horse, kneeled down in the midst of the battle

1. According to some, the Khan had come on an invitation.
2. Sirkar.

and said his prayer. The opposing general, awed by the religious confidence of the prince, called off his troops, saying 'that to fight with such a man is to destroy oneself.' "

The campaigns in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindu Kush are of no importance in the history of India, except as illustrating the extreme difficulty of holding the mountain provinces from a distant centre; but they were of the greatest service to Aurangzeb. They provided him an opportunity and enabled him to prove his courage and military genius in the eyes of the best soldiers in the land. The generals learnt "to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was as cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a reputed devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general, a prince whose wisdom, coolness, endurance, and resolution had been tested and acclaimed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have often ended since, but they had done for Aurangzeb what they did for Stewarts and Roberts: they placed their leader in the front rank of India's generals."

Dara's Usurpation of Throne

While Shuja was away to the East as governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb was down in the Deccan, and Murad was in the West making merry in Gujerat. The eldest brother (Dara) had firmly planted himself in the Imperial Court and "watching with impatient eyes the failing health of the Emperor, determined to disarm his brothers." Dara had "Shah Jehan's full confidence and was conducting the Central Government in his name." He procured orders to recall his youngest brother Murad from his viceroyalty on the western coast; and to strip Aurangzeb of his power in the South. The insulting mandates reached Aurangzeb, one in March 1656 when he had besieged Golkunda and the other in August 1657 when he was on the point of conquering Bijapur. In September 1657, Shah Jehan, now sixty-seven years of age, suddenly fell seriously ill, his death was expected every moment and the hope of recovery was remote. Dara, who, alone of the four brothers, was present at Agra, endeavoured to suppress, though in vain, the news of the serious condition of Shah Jehan and in the meantime took all possible measures to seize, or install himself on, the Mughal throne as soon as the Emperor closed his eyes. The old Emperor realised the "dreadful consequences of Dara's imprudent conduct," but was helpless because of his excessive inclination towards the eldest son or he was unable to reason with Dara's haughty temperament. The absent brothers naturally suspected that their father had really expired. There was no law of succession and each of the brothers was prepared for the inevitable struggle for the throne. Shah Jehan "well knew the two essential conditions for retaining the Mughal throne—namely, to be perfectly pitiless to his kindred and to be in perfect health himself. Aurang-

zeb's father, the stricken Emperor, had been a rebel prince. He left not one male alive of the house of Timur, so that he and his children might be the sole heirs of the Empire. These children were now to prove his perdition. Amidst the pangs of his excruciating disease, his eldest son Dara grasped the Central Government; while his next son, Prince Shuja, hurried north from his viceroyalty of Bengal to seize the imperial capital."

War of Succession

A five years' war of succession followed; and each one of the four brothers knew that the stake for which he played was an empire or a grave.

Shah Shuja was "the first in the field. He at once announced that his father had been poisoned by Dara, proclaimed himself Emperor, engraved his name on the coinage of Bengal, and set out to march upon Agra." Murad Bakhsh, also exchanged his title of Viceroy for that of Emperor at Ahmedabad, caused coins to be struck and the prayer for the king to be recited in his own name, "displayed his lordly instinct by immediately assaulting the city of Surat and extorting six lacs of rupees from its luckless merchants," and prepared to maintain his pretension with the sword. "Aurangzeb in the Deccan, alone of the four brethren," relates Lane-Poole, "assumed no royal function."[1]

Dara lost no time in sending out the imperial armies to chastise Shuja and Murad. The former was easily repulsed; Raja Jai Singh surprised him at his camp near Benares, and "attacked before sunrise, while the careless bon-vivant was yet heavy with wine. After a brief contest the rebels gave way, and the dazed prince, hardly awake, hastily took to flight, abandoning his camp and treasure, artillery and ammunition." But there was a brother advancing from the South, whose steps could not be stayed. This brother was Aurangzeb who "had been forced," in the words of Hunter, "by his eldest brother's intrigue to assume the defensive." "It seems doubtful," he says, "whether, at first, he aspired to the throne." Confronted with the only alternative of fight or death, as the hostility of Dara would not have permitted him to live, Aurangzeb after a good hesitation made up his mind to join his younger brother, Murad, and shortly met him near the Narbada at the head of the Deccan army. Towards the close of April 1658, the combined forces reached Dharmat, fourteen miles south-west of Ujjain, a place rendered memorable by the signal defeat of the imperial forces and disgraceful flight of Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. Dara had already sent Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan to check the advance of the younger brothers. The hostile armies met (at Dharmat) on April 15, 1658; the Imperialists, though far superior in number, suffered a crushing defeat; Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan fled from the field. The battle was not decisive;

1. S. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*,

but it "rendered the military reputation of Aurangzeb absolutely unrivalled in India."

"The Mughal capital was in an uproar. Dara, exasperated by the defeat," as Lane-Poole puts, "resolved to wipe out the disgrace, and led a magnificent array to the encounter." The enfeebled and distracted Emperor in vain tried to restrain Dara's impetuosity and counselled for his mediation at the head of his forces.

Battle of Samugarh

The entire Rajput might and the Brahmanic people had, within fanatic enthusiasm, pledged their attachment to Dara as the chance of his success assured Rajput and Brahmanic supremacy in India; and when Dara advanced with the flower of the imperial army, fresh and with its vigour intact, under his command towards "Samugarh" to bring to Agra his brothers "bound hand and foot to receive their father's judgment," the strength of his formidable army, according to Manucci (*Storia*), was 120,000 troopers and 100 guns. In these surging waves, the 80,000 Rajputs in their saffron-colour uniforms, 20,000 horses under Rustam Khan Dakhini and the fierce Uzbeck archers commanded a well-deserved proud prominence. As against these vast hordes, superior in number and superior in equipment, the combined forces of Murad and Aurangzeb, fatigued and worn out by the long and rapid marches from Deccan, according to Manucci (*Storia*), besides camp guards, could not exceed 60,000 with 60 pieces of artillery. The inferiority of number was, however, compensated by the "incomparable cool courage" and "superior abilities" of Aurangzeb; while the irresolute and impetuous mind of Dara clouded his splendid prospect, ruined his chance, and turned success into defeat. A critical moment reached when, after emptying their quivers upon the Deccan horse, Dara and his men came to the sword and fought hand to hand till the enemy began to break and fly. The day was going against Aurangzeb. The flower of Aurangzeb's cavalry was driven back; the fame and person of Aurangzeb appeared, during those few moments, irrecoverably lost. "Never was cool courage put to a severer test," writes Lane-Poole, "but Aurangzeb's nerve was steel. He knew how to turn back the torrent of defeat. 'Take heart my friends,' he cried. 'There is God! What hope have we in flight? Knew ye not where is our Deccan? Why fear? There is God! There is God!' And forthwith he commanded his elephant's legs to be chained to the ground in the thick of the baltte." The order revived the courage of the few squadrons that still stood beside him, animated them with an irresistible enthusiasm, restored their ranks and forthwith changed the fate of the battle. As against such courage and character of Aurangzeb, the royal prince Dara, who, a little later when he saw "so many of his noble and heroic followers killed," according to Khafi Khan, a no lenient critic of Aurangzeb, became "distracted and irresolute and knew not what to do." Just then a rocket struck the *howda* of his

elephant. "The rocket," relates Khafi Khan, "alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant without even waiting to put on his slippers and he, then, without arms, mounted a horse. Every motion of Dara betrayed his trembling perplexity. His looks, the gestures, the language expressed betrayed the disorder of his soul. Just at this time a cannon ball carried off the man's (one of his attendants') right hand and he fell dead. The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him; some of them dispersed and others fled from the fatal field. The dismayed prince, on whatever side he cast his eyes, beheld, with despair, the heaps of the corpses of his adherents, his soldiers flying from the field and the irresistible enemy advancing with rapid progress. The courage of Dara deserted him, and, prizing his life more than the hope of a crown, turned and fled." "For a terrible moment," in the words of Lane-Poole, "Aurangzeb had steadily maintained his seat on his besieged elephant and his reward was the Peacock Throne. A little too soon Dara had dismounted, to be numbered among the most miserable of princes, a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth." Superior merit and cool courage of Aurangzeb decided the fortune of the day and victory graced his standard before the sun could go down. Ten thousands of the brave Rajputs among others lay dead in the mountain of the slain and the remaining fled to unknown directions.

This was the first occasion when Rajputs took active part in the war of succession of a Mughal prince to the throne of Delhi; and to their great chagrin and humiliation, their much-trumpeted might was irretrievably disgraced and humbled by their utter rout and by the crushing defeat of their candidate. Among others, the result of "Samugarh" contest declared to the world that the Mughal arm, howsoever grown effete, was as yet "not inferior to the unspoiled might of Rajputana." So fatal was the blow that, in spite of Aurangzeb's generous treatment, Rajputs could not repair the loss, revive their vigour and regain their fame of Akbar's time. And the years that followed the death of Aurangzeb showed that the great Rajputs had gone so enfeebled that they could not even defend their own homes and hearths, their women and children, and their villages and towns against the outrages and ravages of the Maratha invaders.

The victory of Samugarh was the signal for all the world to come and tender their homage to Aurangzeb. The officers who returned to their duty were reinstated in their ranks and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed. Raja Jai Singh, who commanded the army which had successfully repulsed Shuja in Bengal, submitted and was raised to the position of a second parent. Maharaja Jaswant Singh, presently followed Jai Singh's example, tendered his fealty to the new power and was greatly astonished to receive a gracious and undeserved pardon from the victorious prince and the restoration of his rank and dignity. Likewise other "waiters

on Providence" hastened to desert the setting for the rising sun.

Dara's Flight

Dara had left Agra with the pompous boasting: "*Takht ya Tabut*"—throne or grave. But he could neither win the throne nor face death; instead, he fled back to the imperial city, a despised coward, bankrupt in fame and fortune. The loving father and sister (Jehanara) were plunged into a convulsing grief; but there was no time for exhibition of mutual sorrow, if Dara wanted a safe flight. Quickly he gathered his treasures and adherents; "mules laden with gold coins from the palace treasury were sent" to the beloved son by the aggrieved father; and "Imperial orders were despatched to the Governor of Delhi to open the stores of the fort there to Dara as freely as to the Emperor in person."[1] About the time of third watch of night (2 a.m.) on 30th May, the defeated prince secretly set off to Delhi with his wife, Nadira Begam, and children, with the treasures of Agra and with 5,000 reliable soldiers. "The slave girls, musicians and other women, abandoned by Dara, took shelter in the fort with Shah Jehan," and the pathetic or partial father steadfastly "continued to send him (Dara) money and stores till Aurangzeb seized Agra city and closed the road to Delhi."[2]

Shah Jehan

Shah Jehan's excessive love for his eldest son was a notorious weakness of the Emperor; it had nourished Dara's unjust vanity, enabled him to dominate his father and rule on the father's throne, and bred up an unfatherly aversion of Shah Jehan against his third son (Aurangzeb) whose merit Dara feared and dreaded. The Emperor was fully convinced of the superior ability of Aurangzeb, and often used to say: "At times I fear that my eldest son (Dara Shukoh) has become the enemy of good men; Murad Bakhsh has set his heart on drinking; Mohammed Shuja has no good trait except contentment (i.e. easy-going nature). But the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzeb prove that he (alone) can shoulder this difficult task (viz. ruling India)." The courage of Aurangzeb, his talents and amiable manner had struck affections alike in the minds of soldiers, "worthy nobles of the court" and the general public, but provoked the jealousy of his father who in vain wished Dara to abandon his childish haughtiness and insolent behaviour to the nobles. "Deeply grieved at heart, on seeing the signs of (future) misfortune on the forehead of Shah-i-Buland Iqbal (Dara Shukoh) and the marks of rise in the fortune of Aurangzeb, he advised Dara against his bad acts and words. But when he found that Dara Shukoh did not profit by the good counsel, as has been well said (Verse) :

> If the blanket of a man's Fate has been woven black,
> Even the waters of the Zimzim and Kauthar[3] cannot wash it white.

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1. Khafi Khan; J. N. Sirkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II.
2. See J. N. Sirkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II.
3. *Zimzim* is a sacred well at Mecca and *Kauthar* is a spring in the heaven.

he wished that Mohammed Aurangzeb should change his behaviour to the nobles and in a royal letter he wrote with his own hand to Aurangzeb, 'My child, it is proper for kings and their sons to have a lofty spirit and to display elevation of mind. I have heard that in dealing with every one of my officers you show the greatest humility on your part. If you do so with a view to the future, (know that) all things depend on predestination, and that nothing but contempt will be gained by this meekness of spirit.' Aurangzeb replied, 'What your Majesty has, out of favour and kindness, written with your gracious pen concerning this humble slave, has come down like a revelation from the heavens. Hail, true saint and spiritual guide! "Thou givest honour to whomsoever Thou wishest and disgrace to whom Thou desirest," (this text proves that honour and lowliness) are solely dependent on the predestination of the Master of Slaves and Creator of the Earth and the Cities. I am acting according to the true Tradition narrated by Anas the son of Malik, "Whosoever humbles, God bestows honour on him." I consider wounding the hearts (of others) as the worst of sins and the most shameful of vices. I am not contradicting what has been written in your gracious letter, but I know for certain that it was written agreeably to (the verse) "The temptations of the Devil, who creates suspicion in the hearts of men; and he is one of the genii and men."' "

Unequal Treatment to Aurangzeb

Whenever an occasion arose Aurangzeb was let down and disgraced at the wish of Dara. Dara had "robbed his younger brother of the sunshine of their father's favour; he had thwarted his plans and backbitten him at the imperial court; his had been the secret influence behind the throne that accounted for Shah Jehan's attitude of coldness and undeserved censure towards the able viceroy of Multan and the Deccan; he had intrigued with Bijapur and Golkunda in open opposition to Aurangzeb in the wars against them sanctioned by the Emperor himself; every enemy of Aurangzeb had found a ready patron in Dara; Dara's officers had insulted and calumniated Prince Aurangzeb without any punishment from their master; his sons had monopolised all the favours of Shah Jehan, leaving none for Aurangzeb's offspring."[1] He had detained Dara at Delhi and willingly allowed him to usurp the throne during his illness. With Emperor's permission, Dara hurled the "imperial forces" at Samugarh to crush Aurangzeb. All along Shah Jehan was confident of his eldest son's success. But that was not all; when the appeal to arms was decided against him, Shah Jehan rested his hope on diplomacy and an assassin's dagger.

Assassin's Dagger

On his arrival at Burhanpur, Aurangzeb had written to the Emperor (middle of February) inquiring about his health and request-

1. See J. N. Sirkar, *History of Aurangzeb.*

ing him to dislodge Dara from usurpation of authority. But no reply came. Again after his victory over Jaswant, Aurangzeb wrote to the prime minister requesting him to convey to Shah Jehan that the object of the two brothers' march was to satisfy themselves against the rumours about his death or serious conditions; to pay filial respects, and to dispel misgivings about them. The battle with Jaswant, he wrote, had been forced on him by the Maharaja's obstinate and audacious conduct to bar the path to Agra. Again there was no reply from the Emperor. A month later, Jehanara, the devoted well-wisher of Dara, wrote to Aurangzeb admonishing him to surrender to Dara "since the eldest brother, both by canon law and common usage, stands in the position of the father." Aurangzeb in reply requested her that "Dara should be sent away from the imperial court to his own province of the Punjab, to avoid mischief." He wrote: "Shah Jehan has lost all real power and control. Dara is engaged in taking measures to secure his power and to ruin his brothers. He has crushed Shuja already. He foiled my invasion of Bijapur, when complete success was at hand, and he emboldened the Bijapuris to defy me. He has poisoned the Emperor's ears against his two younger brothers, and taken away Berar from me for no fault whatever. Against such overt hostility I am obliged to take up arms in self-preservation. My wish, however, is only to go to Shah Jehan's presence and lay my grievances before him personally. I shall brook no obstacle. See how Jaswant fared in making the attempt."[1] But the Emperor still remained silent. However, as the victor of Samugarh reached Agra, the changed situation awakened, in Shah Jehan, the paternal sentiments of a father and he conveyed a "passionate longing of the old father" to see Aurangzeb. The letter-bearers were the aged Chamberlain Fazil Khan and the Chief Justice Hidayatullah—confidential servants of Shah Jehan. Aurangzeb cheerfully agreed to an interview as proposed by his father. But the confidential reports revealed to Aurangzeb a snare laid for his arrest and assassination. Khalilullah Khan, another confidential servant of Shah Jehan, who accompanied Fazil Khan on June 5, also divulged Shah Jehan's dark and hostile designs and advised the prince "to imprison Shah Jehan as that was the only means of rendering him harmless." When the hope of "cordial settlement" with or "arrest" of Aurangzeb became remote, the aged monarch offered to resist. But the hardships of three days' siege very soon obliged him to surrender. On June 10, Jehanara called upon the victor, conveyed to him their loving father's wish to see him, and proposed in Shah Jehan's name partition of the Empire among the four brothers: Dara to have the Punjab, Multan and adjacent provinces; Murad Gujerat, Shuja Bengal and Aurangzeb the Deccan and the remaining portion of the

1. See J. N. Sirkar, *History of Aurangzeb.*

Empire with the rank of heir apparent to throne and the title of "Buland Iqbal" (which was to be taken away from the eldest). After a long discussion, Jehanara's sisterly warmth or pursuasion dispelled Aurangzeb's suspicions and overcame his unwillingness and he promised to visit Shah Jehan. Next day Aurangzeb started in a splendid procession from his camp to the fort. Innumerable crowds lined the streets and house-tops, cheered and blessed the hero of Samugarh. Amidst these rejoicings, the prince was suddenly stopped by Shaista Khan (his maternal uncle) and Shaikh Mir, who galloped up to Aurangzeb and disclosed to him, in time, Shah Jehan's fresh plan for his assassination. Just then a slave named Nahirdil arrived from the fort and betrayed into Aurangzeb's hands a secret letter which the Emperor had ordered him to smuggle out to Dara. It ran thus:

> "Dara Shukoh! stay firmly at Delhi. There is no lack of money and troops there. Take care not to pass beyond that place, as I myself shall despatch the affair here."

Check on Shah Jehan's Mischief

Shah Jehan's conduct in those days of despotism deserved capital punishment, but the religion and humanity of Aurangzeb inclined him to generosity. Subject to his liberty having been restrained to the limits of his palace, the Emperor had all comforts of life to his command. The company of books, recreation of letters and solace of devotion, which afford so many resources in solitude, were incapable of fixing the attention of Shah Jehan. In loss of power he regretted the want of occupation. He forgot that his own guilt and folly had inspired the sentiments and brought about the situation which he deplored; and the helpless son patiently endured the furious sallies of resentment and despair.

Pursuit of Dara

The mischiefs flowing from the exalted position and from the partiality of the Emperor, having been well brought under control, Aurangzeb was now free to move in pursuit of Dara. He sent his general Khan-i-Dauran to remove the menace of Suleman Shukoh (Dara's son) who was lying with a large army at Allahabad, and himself took the road to Delhi on June 13. Meanwhile Dara who had reached Delhi on June 5 had applied to his own use without any resistance from any quarter, the government property, horses, and elephants, in the capital, also seized the goods and moneys of some of the nobles, and despatched letters to all sides for support. He also had maintained correspondence with his beloved father; but in receiving the painful news of the surrender of Agra fort, he left Delhi on June 12 and hurried to Lahore with his army now swollen to 10,000. On his way at Sirhind he seized the property of the revenue collector and dug out twelve lacs of rupees. The province of the Punjab was his own subedari; almost all the officers were faithful and the treasury was rich. His strength daily increased. He also addressed "secret

letters to Aurangzeb's officers and to the Rajputs inciting them to rebel against Aurangzeb." Within about a month or so the number of his troops rose to 23,000 and no preparations were spared for giving battle to Aurangzeb. But when the time of contest reached, the "genius of Dara once more quailed before that of Aurangzeb. How could he hope to resist a rival who, with inferior forces, had conquered Jaswant Singh and Rustam Khan, who had triumphed over fatigue, bad roads, and rain-swollen rivers, and who was now coming up with a large army of veterans that had never known defeat?" Dara felt despaired of success in war and confessed to his confidential advisers, "I cannot resist Aurangzeb. If it had been anyone else, I should have fought him here." The leader's despair infected the army; they lost heart and confidence in a chief who had no confidence in himself; and many a troop abandoned the losing side and marched off to join the banner of victory and hope that waved over Aurangzeb's head. Hearing discomforting reports of Aurangzeb's arrival on the banks of the Sutlej, the timid prince (on August 16) hastened to Multan with 14,000 troopers and from there he fled to Bhakkar (Sind) on September 13.

Flying from place to place, after terrible hardships, Dara reached the Gujerat Province in December (1658). The Governor of this place was Shah Nawaz Khan, Aurangzeb's father-in-Law. Aurangzeb was ever doubtful about his allegiance and, apprehending a dangerous betrayal from this high officer, the prince had him imprisoned at Burhanpur. After the victory over Dara the persistent and irresistible request of his daughter had her maternal grandfather set free and also obtained for him the appointment as the Governor of Gujerat. But Aurangzeb, in prophetic words, declared that Shah Nawaz would forget all favour, and, violating all ties of relationship and devotion, would desert him at the first opportunity. Exactly the same thing happened. With the news of Dara's arrival in Gujerat he rebelled, admitted Dara into Ahmedabad (January 9, 1659) and opened to him the treasury containing ten lacs of rupees. Dara stayed here for about one month and raised troops to the number of 22,000. News reached him that Shuja was rapidly advancing from the east, while Aurangzeb was absent in the Punjab. "Now is the time for me," he thought unto himself, "to make a dash on Agra from the west." Soon afterwards another rumour brought the false but pleasant news that Aurangzeb's army had been routed in a battle with Shuja near Allahabad and that Jaswant Singh had returned home loaded with rich spoils of the vanquished imperial camp. "The golden opportunity had come and Dara would hesitate no longer." On February 14 he started for Ajmer, leaving one of his officers behind as the Governor of Gujerat. Three marches afterwards he learnt the real truth that Aurangzeb had triumphed over Shuja; but this disappointment was immediately compensated by a sudden stroke of an unexpected good fortune. Maharaja Jaswant Singh sent

one of his high officers to Dara with a letter professing his devotion to Shah Jehan and asking Dara to reach Ajmer quickly, where the Rathors and other Rajputs were ready to join a leader who would take them to the rescue of their captive sovereign. And with Jaswant's promised help, a vast Rajput army could be easily raised.

Jaswant Singh

Maharaja Jaswant of Jodhpur deserves a word about him. He was a high-rank imperial general devoted to the cause of Dara. He had been despatched from Delhi amidst a pompous vanity to crush the enemies of Dara who were coming from the South. But the Maharaja was defeated with great disaster and he fled with immeasurable disgrace from the field of Dharmat. Once again he was pitched against the victors of Dharmat, at Samugarh, but again he could save his life by flight. However, after the affair of Samugarh, Jaswant Singh abandoned the sinking cause of Dara, gained pardon from Aurangzeb and transferred his allegiance and oath to the victor of Samugarh. But later on during the night preceding the battle of Khajwa, the Maharaja betrayed and treacherously went over with his troops numbering 14,000 to the side of Shuja. Aurangzeb, determined to punish his ghastly perfidy, despatched Mohammed Amin with 10,000 strong troops to invade Marwar, expel the traitor, and place Rai Singh Rathor on his throne. At this time Jaswant meditated resistance, offered alliance to Dara and invited him to Ajmer. But he soon realised his own impotence. "As Agra and Delhi had fallen in a twinkle into Aurangzeb's hands, how long could the fort of Jodhpur hold out against his power?" After waiting with all his troops for some days in uncertainty at Mandur, his old capital, and then learning that the army of his chastiser with his rival had reached Lalsunth and was ravaging the country, he lost courage and fled to the hill-fort of Siwana. His interests and the hard situation once again persuaded the Maharaja to treachery. He deserted Dara to his fate, and, through Jai Singh, tendered unconditional apology and once again won the pardon of Aurangzeb. Meanwhile the miserable Dara, relying upon the word of the Maharaja, had reached Ajmer. "Of all the actors," writes Sirkar, "in the drama of the War of Succession, Jaswant emerges from it with the worst reputation: he had run away from a fight where he commanded in chief, he had treacherously attacked an unsuspecting friend, and now he abandoned an ally whom he had plighted his word to support and whom he had lured into danger by his promises. Unhappy was the man who put faith in Maharaja Jaswant Singh, lord of Marwar and chieftain of the Rathor clan."

Dara's Arrest and Conviction

Dara eventually was captured in the mouth of Bolan Pass while attempting to effect his escape to Qandhar. His capture is a stain on the Mughal valour; he could expect compassion from none and justice could pronounce the only sentence of death; and yet the com-

petitor to the Mughal throne allowed himself to be captured alive. The royal prisoner was paraded in the streets of the imperial city where he used to pass in the splendour of the heir apparent; and the public was thus assured that the captive was not a fake person but the prince "Buland Iqbal," Dara himself. A court martial was constituted, consisting of Danishmand Khan, Shaista Khan (maternal uncle, both of Dara and Aurangzeb), Mohammed Amin Khan, Bahadur Khan, Hakim Daud and Roshanara, the younger sister of the royal criminal. The unfortunate prince's agents endeavoured hard to save his life and ran to various mediators. Danishmand Khan pleaded for his life while Shaista Khan and others gave a verdict for capital punishment. The matter was then referred to Roshanara; her arguments silenced the voice of mercy, sealed the fate of the eldest son of Shah Jehan; and Dara was sentenced to death.

Battle of Khajwa

Aurangzeb, when he reached Delhi in pursuit of Dara, wrote to Shuja: "As you had often before begged the Emperor Shah Jehan for the province of Behar, I now add it to your viceroyalty. Pass some time peacefully in administering it and repairing your broken power. When I return after disposing of the affair of Dara, I shall try to gratify your other wishes. Like a true brother I shall not refuse you anything that you desire, be it land or money." Shuja in a polite reply thanked Aurangzeb for his offer, but prepared for war. Soon afterwards the absence of Aurangzeb in the far-off Punjab revived Shuja's ambition; his vanity was flattered and fed by his general Isfandiar Mamuri. Shuja determined to strike and the Bengal army advanced without resistance up to Khajwa, three marches from Allahabad. Here Shuja found Aurangzeb's son, Sultan Mohammed, to resist him and bar his path (December 30). Meanwhile the news of Shuja's activity had also reached Aurangzeb when he was at Multan. Aurangzeb considered it unwise to ignore Shuja any longer, left Dara's pursuit in the hands of his officers and himself hurried back to meet Shuja and joined his son on January 2, 1659. On January 4, the rival armies took their positions, and gun fire as well started, but night intervened.

In the array of Aurangzeb's forces, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was put in command of the right wing which included his 14,000 Rajputs. A few hours before dawn, when Aurangzeb was occupied in the "Tahajjud" prayer, Jaswant deserted the imperial standard and went over to the enemy. During that movement the Maharaja and his Rajputs also laid a severe hand on the animals and property of the imperial camp; many were killed and a great panic was the result. When the news of the traitor's perfidy and attack was conveyed to Aurangzeb, he made a sign with his hand (as if to say) "If he has gone away, let him go away," but gave no other reply. After finishing his prayer, he summoned Mir Jumla and others and said, "This incident, too, is a mercy from God, for if the hypocrite had taken this step in

the midst of the battle it would have been hard to remedy the mischief." He ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten and, riding an elephant, he passed the rest of the night in that condition. The presence of mind, firmness and skilful disposition of Aurangzeb restored complete confidence and order in his troops.

When the sun rose it was found that the army of Shuja was coming on from the left side firing its artillery. A number of men were slain by the enemy's firing in the left wing. Aurangzeb ordered the driver of his elephant, "Make my elephant reach Shuja's elephant by any means that you can." Just then Murshid Quli Khan, who was the Emperor's counsellor and close companion, said, "This kind of audacity is opposed to the practice of emperors." Aurangzeb replied, "Neither of us has yet become emperor. Men become emperors only after showing this sort of daring. And if after one has become emperor his courage decreases, his authority does not last. (Verse:)

> "That man (alone) can tightly clasp in his arms the bride of kingship
> Who plants kisses on the keen sword's lip."

The victory of Khajwa was decisive and left Aurangzeb the undisputed master of the Mughal Empire.

On Crossroads

The house of Babar had brought with it to India the adventurous hardihood of the Steppes and the unsapped vitality of the Tartar tent. The old hardy vigour which had enabled the Mughals to trample upon hills of Kabul and Khyber and to fight the tough battles of Panipat and Fatehpur Sikri had been undermined, sullied and degraded by the laxity, luxury and religious half-beliefs of Akbar who, unmindful of his own dignity, and of that of the Empire, indulged himself in an unbounded licence of vice and folly. Degeneration spread with speed; the feeble restraints of laws and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of the degenerate spirit which sacrificed, without a blush, the consideration of duty to the base indulgence of lust and sloth. Within about fifty years every species of corruption and depravation of morals polluted the course of public and private life. A man's rank and consequence were measured by the number of his concubines, the train of his dancing girls, kenchions and singers, the splendour and grandeur of his harem and the weighty magnificence of his effeminate dress. "The long robes of silk and purple of the nobles floating in the wind, as they agitated by air or accident, occasionally uncovered the under-garments and the rich tunics embroidered with the profiles of the young kenchions, beautiful dancers or the spectacles of promiscuous dancing and drinking." Followed by a crowd of servants, and tearing the pavements, they moved along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and their example was boldly imitated by ladies whose covered carriages were continually driving round the immense space of Delhi, Agra and their suburbs. Whenever these

grandees condescended to visit any public festivities or public gatherings, they assumed, on their entrance, a tone of loud and insolent command. If in these places of mixed and general resort, they met any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they expressed their affection by a tender embrace, while they proudly declined the salutations of their fellow-citizens who were not permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing their hands or their knees. The frequent and familiar companions of these great personages were those parasites who practised the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applauded each word and every action of their immortal patron; gazed with rapture on his marble columns and variegated pavements and strenuously praised the pomp and elegance which he was taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. They preferred sound to sense, and care of body to that of mind. They abandoned physical exercise and forgot the use of the arms. Their palaces were filled with debased singers, dancers, prostitutes and all the various retinue of lust and folly; and the produce of their estates was consumed in flutes, enormous drums and musical instruments, in decoration of their chambers of amusement and luxury and maintenance of their parasites, kenchions, singers and musicians. "The display of empty vanity of these persons of high distinctions would hardly fail to provoke the just resentment of a man who recollects that their poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of soldiers by the delicacy of their food; or splendour of their apparel."

The degrading effects and the fatal poison of "wine and women," licentious spectacles of female frailty and voluptuous midnight dances and drinking, were too naked to escape notice. Sir William Hunter, describing the degradation, writes:

> "Babar, the founder of the Empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years of campaigning, including the Indus and the other great channels of the Punjab, and the mighty Ganges herself twice during a ride of 160 miles in two days. The luxurious lords around the youthful Aurangzeb wore skirts made of innumerable folds of the finest white muslin, and went to war in palankeens. On a royal march, when not on duty with the Emperor, they were carried, says an eye-witness, 'stretched as on a bed, sleeping at ease till they reached their next tent, where they are sure to find an excellent dinner,' a duplicate kitchen being sent on the night before."

While Lane-Poole, in his description of this decline, writes:

> "As for the Mughals, three or four generations of court-life had ruined their ancient manliness. Babar would have scorned to command such officers as surrounded Aurangzeb in his gigantic camp at Pairampur. Instead of hardy swordsmen, they had become padded dandies.

> They wore wadding under their heavy armour, and instead of a plain soldierly bearing they luxuriated in comfortable saddles, and velvet housings, and bells and ornaments on their chargers. They were adorned for a procession, when they should have been in rough campaigning outfit. Their camp was as splendid and luxurious as if they were on guard at the palace at Delhi. The very rank and file grumbled if their tents were not furnished as comfortably as in quarters at Agra, and their requirements attracted an immense crowd of camp followers, twenty times as numerous as the effective strength."

It was such a world of immorality, luxury, ease-loving and superstition, in which the austere Aurangzeb came to play his part.

Aurangzeb was standing on crossroads. One direction offered an alluring ease and tempting comfort while the other threw challenge to the conscience. After the extermination of his rivals, Aurangzeb's seat on the Peacock Throne was as secure as had been that of Shah Jehan or Jehangir. They held their power in spite of their "voluptuous ease," and in spite of "their flagrant violations of the law of equity. . . ." There was nothing except his own conscience to prevent Aurangzeb from adopting the eclectic philosophy of Akbar free from all restraints, the "luxurious profligacy of Jehangir" or "the splendid ease" of Shah Jehan. And the degenerate subjects of Delhi and of the provinces would have greeted him with a greater welcome. This was one alternative, and the other alternative was the life of self-imposed cares and responsibility: "To retrieve the growing effeminacy of the Mughals, to attack or curb the Rajputs, to check the tendency of provincial governors to transmit their prestige to their sons and found dynasties, to put a heart into a decaying system and a faith into a listless soul—an Herculean task."

Choice

Aurangzeb was no youthful enthusiast when he ascended the throne at Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of his subjects. He was not ignorant of the safe and smooth sailing which one course offered, nor unconscious of the hardships and dangers which beset the other. Aurangzeb preferred to submit his body to his mind, his passions to his reason and to surrender himself to the dictates of conscience; he cheerfully chose to tread the dangerous path and adhered to it with an unbending resolve through fifty years of his unchallenged sovereignty.

A Man of Example

Alexander, it is said, received more bravery of mind by the pattern of Achilles, than by hearing the definition of fortitude. Example is the best school of mankind; it reforms others most effectually and yet unconsciously; and the life of Aurangzeb was all example. The simple wants of nature regulated the measure of his food and sleep. His drink was simple water. He satisfied his appetite with coarse and

common food, not different from the repast of a private citizen. His sleep was never clouded with fumes of indigestion. No retinue of cooks nor domestic crowd thronged his palace nor a galaxy of concubines shared his bed. He would not mind to sleep on the ground. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Aurangzeb who placed his vanity not in emulating but in despising the ostentatious pomp of royalty. His life was a "noble commentary on the precepts of Christ or Mohammed," and the pride of his simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. "The luxurious lords," in the words of Hunter, "soon found that they had got a very different master from the old palace builder. Aurangzeb was an austere, compound of the emperor, the soldier, and the saint; and he imposed a like austerity on all around him. Of a humble silent demeanour, with a profound resignation to God's will in the height of success as in the depths of disaster, very plainly clothed, never sitting on a raised seat in private life, nor using any vessel of silver or gold, he earned his daily food by manual labour. But he doubled the royal charities and established free eating-houses for the sick and poor. Twice each day he took his seat in court to dispense justice. On Fridays he conducted the prayers of the common people in the great mosque. During the month of fast, he spent his six to nine hours a night in reading the Koran to a select assembly of the faithful. He completed, when Emperor, the task which he had begun as a boy, of learning the sacred book by heart; and he presented two copies of it to Mecca, beautifully written with his own hand."

Virtuous Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb "personally practised what he sought to enforce on others"; and for the first time in their history, the Mughals beheld a rigid virtue in their Emperor— a Muslim as "repressive of himself as the people around him," a king who was prepared "to disgust the flatterers, offend the poets, displease the effeminate nobles," despair the musicians and disappoint the blooming "kenchions," "nautch girls" and singers who used to play a prominent part in court festivities and would keep the jolly emperors awake half the night with their voluptuous dances and agile antics. The degrading effects and the fatal poison of "wine and women," licentious spectacles of female frailty and voluptuous midnight dances and drinking, were too naked to escape the notice of any conscientious person. Aurangzeb banished wine from his palace, prohibited its use within the borders of his Empire, and dismissed the entire crowd of the artful parasites, the youthful kenchions, nautch girls, the so-called singers and the debased musicians—who had corrupted the court life. With a stern hand, he banned the "obscene and degrading songs," "disgraceful music," and the vicious "dancing and drinking" gatherings and sustained, with inflexible determination, the reproaches of the degenerated and pervert society, their prayers and their menaces. It is related that one Friday a vast number of the base singers and minstrels gathered

together, devised and fitted up a bier with a splendid display. With ear-rending wailings and lamentations, they carried the bier under the window of the Emperor and looked as if they were proceeding to bury some "great prince." Aurangzeb sent to enquire the cause of the demonstration, and was told that it was the funeral of "Music," "slain by his orders, and wept by her children." "I approve their piety," said Aurangzeb, "let her be buried so deep that henceforth she may make no more noise." But the Emperor was not unmindful of the bread problems of those dawdlers, the dancers, the players and minstrels; they were urged to labour and were gradually settled on free grant of land. The assiduous effort and example purified the court life, and soon the courtiers and nobles vied with one another in becoming "models of virtues."

Indefatigable Worker

Aurangzeb despised false show, renounced the pleasures and discharged with incessant diligence the duties of his exalted office. He offered his morning prayers at 5 a.m. and, after devotional reading, attended to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, wrote orders himself or signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in shorthand by the diligence of his secretaries. Then he reviewed elephant fights, martial games or the military parades. By about 9 a.m. he reached the Public Darbar and in one and the same day he gave audience to several visitors and wrote or dictated a great number of orders and letters to his governors, his officers, his civil magistrates and officials of the distant cities of his Empire. He possessed such flexibility of thought and such firmness of attention that he could employ at one and the same time his hand to write, his ear to listen and his voice to dictate and pursue at once several trains of ideas without hesitation and without error. At 12 he retired for noon meals, seista and Zuhar prayer and reached the private chamber at 2-30 p.m. to attend to private study or the confidential state affairs. While his ministers and officials reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another till the public business summoned him to the Diwan-i-Khas at about 5 p.m. His servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any recreation other than the change of occupations.[1] The court was dismissed at 8 p.m. and, after a hasty dinner, the Emperor moved to the mosque for prayer and from thence to sleep.

1. Sirkar even acknowledges: "The ruler was free from vice, stupidity, and sloth. His intellectual keenness was proverbial, and at the same time he took to the business of governing with all the ardour which men usually display in the pursuit of pleasure. In industry and attention to public affairs he could not be surpassed by any clerk. His patience and perseverance were as remarkable as his love of discipline and order. In private life he was simple and abstemious like a hermit. He faced the privations of a campaign or a forced march as uncomplainingly as the most seasoned private. No terror could daunt his heart, no weakness or pity melt it. Of the wisdom of the ancients which can be gathered from ethical books, he was a master."

The days of Ramazan in 1662 (April 10—May 9) were extremely hot and long; the Emperor kept fasts and, without food and water or repose in bed during the daytime, transacted the state business and tried cases as regularly as in other seasons. "It used to be midnight before he finished his duties and prayers and found time to take his meals which were scanty and simple like a hermit's. Even his nights were devoted to prayer, and if sleep stole on his eyelids and he reclined in bed, he would start up at the first consciousness of it and then begin to count his beads again! Overwork and lack of sleep and of proper nourishment during an entire month in the frightful heat of Delhi summer wore out his body and dangerously damaged his health; and yet when the period of fasting ended, the Emperor allowed to himself no repose, but continued to attend to his heavy duties as regularly as ever in spite of ill health. The result was dangerous. In the afternoon of May 12, the worn-out body suddenly succumbed to a high fever and he went to the Private Audience and was forced in a few minutes to retire to the harem. Next day the temperature rose higher; his agony was frightful; the fever-heat "scorched him like the rays of the sun"; at times he fell into fits of insensibility, and a deadly pallor spread over his face. "Weeping women surrounded his bed, expecting death any moment. The frightful condition continued for five days, and signs of recovery could not be gathered for over a month."

Even Sirkar observes: "The absolute peace that was maintained throughout the Empire during critical month and a half (of his illness) is the highest tribute to the strength of Aurangzeb's character and the stability of the rule he had founded." Bernier states that even in last days when he was stricken down with an agonising malady, Aurangzeb did not withhold himself from his duty and directed his administration from his bed. He records with wonder:

> "I was present when my Aga (Danishmand Khan) became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, 'What invincible courage! Heaven preserve thee, Aurangzeb, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die."

The sedentary reader would be amazed by his activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not astonished at his sudden presence at the moment when they believed him to be at the most distant extremity of the Empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose. There would be few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the crown, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their puritan Emperor imposed on himself. Once one of the most distinguished of the nobles, embracing one public occasion of a nobles' gathering, remonstrated with the Emperor of his incessant application to affairs of the state, which, it was feared, might again endanger his health. Aurang-

zeb in his address in reply, which could inspire the rulers of any age, said with a lament:

> "There can surely be but one opinion, among you wise men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some vizier; he seems not to consider that, being born the son of a king and placed on the throne, I was sent into the world by the Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the state. This man cannot penetrate into the consequences of the inertness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power."[1]

Reforms

Aurangzeb abolished the "*Nauroz*" (New Year Day) which Akbar had borrowed from Persia. He appointed Censors of Public Morals (*Muhtasibs*) to "regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the law of Morality." And to "promote general morality," he issued a number of regulations. He passed an ordinance prohibiting the production, sale and public use of wine and "*bhang*." Manucci tells us that "the public women" were ordered either to get themselves married or to leave the kingdom. The Emperor also passed strict orders against "singing obscene songs"; he also (as per the official "guide-books" of Aurangzeb's reign) forbade *Sati* (December 1663). He simplified the customary celebrations on his birthday and coronation day. From the eleventh year of his reign, he discontinued the practice of "*Jharoka-darshan*," a practice by which his predecessors appeared every morning on the balcony on the wall of the palace to accept the salute of the people, who then gathered on the ground in front. In the twelfth year the ceremony of weighing the Emperor's body on *two birthdays* against gold, silver and

1. Bernier.

other commodities was given up, and royal astronomers and astrologers were dismissed. But the belief of the degenerated Muslims and "nobles" in astrology was too deeply rooted in their minds to be removed by an imperial ordinance; it remained active till late in the eighteenth century. The year 1679 saw the reimposition of the *Jizya* tax on non-military communities.

Expansion of Empire

The territorial expansion of the Mughal Empire, which was a process continuing through two centuries, went on apace in the reign of Aurangzeb. "Under him, the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single state ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power, vaster than that of Asoka, was formed." From Ghazni to Chatgaon, from Kashmir to the Karnatak, the continent of India obeyed one sceptre; and beyond this region, in far-off Ladakh and Malabar, the suzerainty of the same ruler was proclaimed from the pulpit.

Palamau was conquered in 1661 by Daud Khan, the Governor of Behar. The expeditions of the able Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, brought into submission the warlike people, Ahoms, on the borders of Assam and Burma, and extended the limits of the Empire over Cooch Behar and Assam, and the province of Darrang, rich in elephants. The celebrated Shaista Khan, who succeeded Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal, annexed the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal, wrested Chittagong from the king of Arrakan and annihilated the Portuguese, Arrakani and other pirates, and rendered the Bay of Bengal safe. Ibrahim Khan, the Kashmir Governor, in 1665, sent a mission with Aurangzeb's letter to Tibet. Daldalan Jamjal, the ruler, advanced six miles from his capital to honour the imperial letter. He offered complete submission to the Mughal suzerainty and sent, for presentation to the Emperor, a gold key emblematic of his country's submission, a thousand gold coins and two thousand rupees stamped with Aurangzeb's name, and some rare products of his country. The pious ruler built the first mosque under his own direction and introduced the Mughal coins and public proclamation of his loyalty to the Emperor in Tibet. In 1683, an imperial force under Fidai Khan (Kashmir Governor's son) at a request from the Tibetan ruler was immediately despatched to Tibet and the country was saved from the Qalmaq invaders.

The annexation of Bijapur and Golkunda demands a special mention.

Bijapur

The revolt of Aurangzeb's fourth son Akbar (1680) switched on a new turn to events in the Deccan. After his defeat near Ajmer, Akbar fled to the south and found refuge with Shambhuji, son of Shivaji. Shambhu's provocation was too dangerous to be ignored; and the activity of Akbar and importance of the situation called for the Emperor's personal attention. Bijapur and Golkunda were

tributary vassals of Delhi and as yet no "invasion of Bijapur and Golkunda had ever been contemplated." Aurangzeb wrote a friendly letter to Sharza Khan, the leading general of Bijapur (July 13, 1681), asking for passage, an equal market and cooperation with the Mughal generals in crushing Shambhuji. "The Emperor is going to the Deccan to punish Shambhu. Don't be alarmed, but assist Khan-i-Jehan," wrote Shahar Banu, the Bijapuri princess recently married to Azam (Aurangzeb's third son), in her personal appeal to Sharza (July 18), "in this work and help the imperialists loyally for the good of the Bijapur state." But no reply came. The "Bijapuri grandees" were in secret alignment with Shambhu and had "strengthened him by a secret alliance." They furnished him with money, supplies and news reports. Further attempts proved equally fruitless. The Emperor "received repeated and clear proofs of the help that the Marathas got from the Bijapuri government and of the situation that the Adil Shahi officers, in control of the state, would not leave the side of Shambhu in any case." At length, Aurangzeb wrote to the ruler (Sikandar Adil Shah) and asked him "to supply provisions to the imperial army promptly, allow the Mughal troops a free passage through his territory, abstain from helping or harbouring Shambhuji, and expel Sharza Khan from his country!" But, instead of sending a conciliatory reply, Sikandar demanded "that the Mughals should return to him the tribute and territory they had exacted in the past, withdraw their outposts from his dominions, and not to march against Shambhuji through his territory."

Adil Shah also busied himself in seeking allies. An envoy was sent to Golkunda (July 30), earnestly beseeching aid, and a messenger despatched to Siddi Masud at Adoni for his assistance and advice. The defence of the environs of the capital was entrusted to Chintu Chimna, a Brahman, (June 18), while the premier noble, Nawab Abdur Rauf, with Sharza Khan as his right-hand man, took the command of the field army. In January 1685, a son of Masud came to deliver his father's counsels to the Sultan. Shortly before, promise of support had arrived from Golkunda. On February 21, a Maratha contingent under Shambhuji's diwan Melgiri Pandit reached Bijapur and was welcomed by the Sultan from the Zuhrapur gate. On June 10, Siddi Masud's contingent arrived; on August 14, Golkunda force, under Ambaji Pandit, came and finally a second army from Shambhuji under Hambir Rao arrived on December 10. This amounted to an ultimatum to Aurangzeb. "The show of friendship Bijapur had so long kept up with the Mughals was now dispelled, and "Sikandar's unalterable determination to support Shambhu" needed no further confirmation. The defiant letter amounted to an ultimatum to Aurangzeb, and invited the misfortune of Adil Shah. Convinced of Bijapur's hostile intentions, confronted by its war preparations and disappointed of conciliation, Aurangzeb felt obliged to taking action against the belligerent Vassal.

The siege of Bijapur by the Mughals was laid under the overall command of Prince Azam who, on June 29, 1685, arrived under the foot of the Bijapur fort. His presence infused more vigour into the siege. But in August a dangerous famine broke out. Roads and streams were flooded by heavy rains and there were no supplies. "Grain sold at Rs. 15 a seer, and that too in small quantities. The hungry soldiers ate up their draught cattle and camels and then began to pine away through lack of food and sleep, because they had to be ever on the alert to repel the daily sorties' of the garrison and the attacks of the Bijapuri field army roving in the open. No food came from any side. The soldiers were greatly weakened and many of them died."[1] For lack of men the Mughal outpost at Indi, mid-way between Sholapur and Bijapur, had been withdrawn, and thus the road from the base to the siege-camp was closed.

Aurangzeb saw no other means of saving his son and his men than by ordering him to retire from Bijapur with his army. The Prince held a council of war and told his chief officer, Ali Khan: "The work of the campaign depends upon the cooperation of my officers. I have received this order from the Emperor. Your advice on the question of war or peace, haste or delay, is a weighty thing. What is your opinion in the present case?" They all voted for a retreat. But Azam, turning to his officers, exclaimed, "You have spoken for yourselves. Now listen to me. Mohammed Azam with his two sons and Begam will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The council of war cried out with one voice: "Our opinion is the same as your Highness's!"

The enormous loss by famine, fatigue and inclemency of weather did retard the progress of the siege, but could not affect the unbending will of the besiegers. Within a month or so, the Bijapuris realised that their resistance was impotent and threw themselves at the mercy of the Emperor. Adil Shah surrendered on Sunday, September 12, 1686, and with that ended the Bijapuri monarchy. The deposed Sultan was enrolled among the Mughal peers with the title of Khan (lord), and a pension of one lac of rupees a year was settled on him.

Fall of Golkunda

The year 1673 was rendered important in the history of Golkunda kingdom by the appointment of Madanna, a cunning Brahman, as the prime minister with the title of Surya Prakash Rao. The shrewd Brahman then got his brother Akhanna appointed as the commander-in-chief and his nephew Yengana, surnamed Rustam Rao, raised to another high command. Madanna ruled the destiny of Golkunda for thirteen years up to 1686 and the English at Madras described

1. Khafi Khan.

his miserable rule as: "Madanna has sole control, and nothing is thought of but peeling and squeezing the people. . . .The government of the country (i.e. the Karnatak) is now in so bad hands that there is nothing but fraud and oppression, and so void of shame that no credit can be given to either agreements, promises, qauls or farmans."

This Brahman provided the Marathas with moneys and supplies and afforded them shelter when needed. In 1677 he gave to Shivaji a more than royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad and promised him a regular subsidy of one lac of hun for committing robberies on the Mughal territories. After Shivaji's death the alliance was renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued. Aurangzeb wrote to his envoy at Golkunda court: "This luckless wretch (Abul Hasan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his state to a *kafir* and made Sayyids, Shaikhs and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed (in his realm) all kinds of sin and vice (viz. taverns, brothels, and gambling houses). He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins, through the intoxication of kingship, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's commands and prohibitions, by sending aid to infidel powers and by recently paying one lac of hun to the *kafir* Shambhu, he has made himself accursed before God and man."

During the Mughal invasions of Bijapur under Jai Singh in 1665-66, under Dilir Khan in 1679 and under Prince Mohammed Azam in 1685, the Sultan of Golkunda had openly sent his troops to assist the enemy. The Brahman had all along laboured hard to excite Abul Hasan to rebellion and disloyalty. Now again, before the siege of Bijapur, the Emperor had warned Abul Hasan not to assist Sikandar Adil Shah in any way and yet Abul Hasan sent his army against the Mughals. Even Sharif-ul-Mulk, the husband of Abul Hasan's sister, disapproved this action and offered his services to the Emperor. In the end of June, a letter from Abul Hasan to his agents in the imperial camp at Sholapur was intercepted, in which he had written: "The Emperor is a great man, and has acted magnanimously up to this time, but now, finding Sikandar a helpless orphan, he has laid siege to Bijapur and pressed him hard. It is, therefore, necessary that while the Bijapur army and Shambhu with his countless hordes are offering resistance from one side, I should, from this side, send 40,000 men under Khalilullah Khan to enter into the war. We shall then see on which front the Emperor can meet and repel his enemies."

Aurangzeb, shocked by the perfidy of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, boiled with anger and at once (June 28, 1685), detached Prince Shah 'Alam to march on Hyderabad, and ordered Khan-i-Jehan to advance from his outpost of Indi and join the prince on the way, though he knew that this diversion of his forces would delay and hinder the success of the undertaking against Bijapur.

Golkunda forces were defeated near Malkhed near Hyderabad and put to rout. Abul Hasan and his all-powerful Brahman fled to the impregnable fort of Golkunda. Qutb Shah was forced to realise the impotence of his base enmity and of the danger of refusing obedience to Aurangzeb; but, to avert the catastrophe by artful pretensions of peace, he fervently appealed to the prince (Shah Alam) for peace, promising "to agree to every demand" of the Mughal government.

On Shah Alam's recommendation, which reached the Court on October 18, the Emperor consented to pardon Abul Hasan on the following conditions: (1) He must pay one crore and 20 lacs of rupees in settlement of all past dues, and in addition a tribute of 2 lacs of hun every year. (2) He must dismiss Madanna and Akhanna. (3) He must give up all claim to Malkhed and Serum, which the imperialists had already occupied.

But the deceitful Abul Hasan had appealed for peace only to delay and promised only to betray. While the prince was waiting for the fulfilment of these terms, a small party was sent by Aurangzeb with costly rewards for Shah Alam and his chief officers, in recognition of their splendid success in capturing the enemy's capital (Hyderabad). At Munagal, twenty-eight miles west of Hyderabad, that party was attacked by Golkunda forces (under Shaikh Nizam); its leader Mir Abdul Karim was wounded and carried off into captivity, many of his followers were slain, and all the imperial gifts as well as the property of the traders, who had joined the party in a caravan for the sake of the escort, were plundered. Nor did Qutb Shah (Abul Hasan) dismiss the contemptible Madanna, the source of his misguidance and the cause of his ruin. However, in the meantime the nobles of the Golkunda Court, who were exasperated by the baseness and incapacity of Madanna and who justly considered him to be "the only cause of the ruin of the state and of the slaughter of Muslims and soldiers," rose in revolt against the "blood-sucker." The Brahman was murdered, exciting sympathy from no quarter except Abul Hasan. His brother and nephew also met the same fate.

Abul Hasan's conduct at length left no hope of conciliation and of the observance of the terms on his part. In February 1687, Mughals, therefore, laid the siege of Golkunda. The fort was indeed impregnable. Besides being well-stocked with food and ammunition, its situation rendered the siege more difficult. Torrential rains, famine and pestilence caused serious disasters to the besiegers. But the indomitable will and energy of Aurangzeb mounted over the insurmountables and the fort fell on September 21, 1687. Ruhullah Khan and his party captured Abul Hasan. The Court historian writes that "Aurangzeb, in his infinite mercy, shut his eyes to the offences of this hapless man and ordered him to be safely lodged in a tent." He was, then, sent off to the fortress of Daultabad on a

pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and Golkunda was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Akbar—The Rebel

Meanwhile Aurangzeb was not indifferent to the moves of Shambhu and Akbar. At first he followed a policy of watch and see and waited "for Akbar and Shambhuji to show their hands, before choosing his own line of attack"; but with passage of time, pressure on Shambhuji was increased. Akbar made a dash into the Mughal territory in June 1686, when the Emperor had left Sholapur to join the siege of Bijapur and the Mughal Deccan was denuded of its forces. But the pretender was mistaken; the Emperor with his usual foresight had left Murhamat Khan with a division to guard Ahmadnagar. The Khan, "calling to his side all the faujdars of the district, fought a severe battle with Akbar near Chakan, and defeated him." Akbar fled back to Shambhuji's dominions, utterly foiled in his design of marching to Northern India and joining the Rajputs.

Things grew from bad to worse every day and the disgusted rebel, disappointed of all hope, at last sailed away to Persia.

Marathas

The Marathas were strong only in their rocks, their forts and in the rainy season; but all obstacles were overcome by the perseverance of Aurangzeb whose vigour of mind and body had not been impaired by seventy-five years and innumerable fatigue. In May 1685, after Aurangzeb had advanced to Sholapur to direct the siege of Bijapur, the Marathas also made an attempt to enter the fort of Ahmadnagar by escalade at night, but the attempt was defeated by the vigilance of the qiladar Zain-ul-Abidin Bukhari. After the fall of Bijapur, the Emperor now "turned his arms against Shambhuji"; and soon "fort after fort fell into his hands. The fort of Salhir fell in May 1687. Kohaj fort (Thana district) was taken by Vikram (ex-Raja of Jawhar) in March 1688, Hulgarh by Hasan Ali Khan (July), Samangarh by Bahadur Khan (September), and Mahuli by Azam Khan."

In January 1689, Shambhuji, on his way to his capital (Raigarh) from Khelna fort, made a halt at Sangameshwar, twenty-two miles north-east of Ratnagiri city, a place which he believed to be impenetrable to Mughal arms, and a place rendered important by his memorable arrest. Muqarrab Ali Khan, an able and active general of Aurangzeb, who had been detached to lay siege to Panhala, received the report of Shambhuji's stay at Sangameshwar. Taking with himself only 2,000 picked troopers and 1,000 infantry, "the brave officer at once made a forced march from his camp at Kolhapur. Great hardships were undergone in crossing the jungles, broken ground and lofty passes of the Western Ghats, at such a rapid pace. At every stage he had to leave many stragglers behind." With his officers and some 300 troopers he arrived at Sangameshwar "with the speed of lightning and wind," covering the intervening ninety miles in two or three days.

Shambhuji had been warned of the "approach of an enemy force," but he rebuked his spies "for their pains," saying: "You careless fellows, you are mad. Can any Mughal troops reach here?"

When the invaders entered the town, the minister of Shambhu (Kabkalas) offered them battle. He was wounded by an arrow in his right hand, and fell down. The Maratha force with the loss of their leader could not stand, broke and fled. Shambhuji flew to a temple and hid himself in a hole in the floor. But the Mughal general got the information of the hiding-place and surrounded the temple. His son Ikhlas Khan with a party of brave men entered the temple, dragged Shambhu out of the hole and took him to the general. According to Khafi Khan, Shambhuji quickly shaved off his hair and beard, smeared himself with ashes and put on the disguise of a "sannyasi," but he was recognised by the necklace of pearls he wore under his dress and the gold rings round the fetlocks of his horse.

On October 19, 1689, Itiqad Khan (son of the prime minister Asad Khan) captured the fort and seized in it Shivaji's surviving widows, and Shambhuji's and Rajaram's wives, daughters and sons. The captives were brought to the imperial camp at Koregaon on November 23, and the ladies were lodged in separate tents with every respect and privacy.

By the end of the year 1689, Aurangzeb "was the unrivalled lord-paramount of Northern India and the Deccan alike. Adil Shah, Qutb Shah, and Raja Shambhuji had all fallen and their dominions had been annexed to his Empire."

According to Khafi Khan, Sahu was with his father Shambhu, at Sangameshwar. "Several of his followers," he writes, "were killed; but he (Shambhu) and his family including his son Sahu were all made prisoners." Aurangzeb treated Sahu "like his own son, with great familiarity and kindness." "It was he (Aurangzeb) who gave the child the name of Sahu, which he afterwards preferred and retained." Suitable teachers were appointed for his education and military training. A rank of 700 was conferred upon him.

Sahu developed "a great love and reverence for the Emperor." After Aurangzeb's death, Sahu was released by Prince Azam at the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang; and soon afterwards," writes Khafi Khan, "Sahu collected a large army, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar; but then, he put off his journey, and went to the place where Aurangzeb had died. He paid a mourning visit to the place, and distributed money and food to the poor. Then, with his large army, which numbered nearly 20,000 Maratha horse, he marched, with the intention of showing his respect to the tomb of Aurangzeb, towards Daulatabad, a place now called Khuldabad. And when his advance party approached Aurangabad, Sahu, as a mark of respect to the Emperor (Aurangzeb), forbade his men to plunder, and after visiting the tombs of the great men and of Aurangzeb, he went his way to his forts."

The English (Faringies)

The English united the profession of a merchant and robber, and they had introduced themselves as such to the inhabitants of India. Their cunning arts of flattery and servile efforts from time to time secured them permissions from the generosity and munificence of the ruling princes to establish or extend their business in their territories; and during a long course of a century or so, they established themselves as a trading community in this country.

In 1683, Gerald Aungier, the English President at Surat and Governor of Bombay since 1669, wrote to the Court of Directors that "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands." In the course of a few years the Directors approved of "this change" in the Company's policy and wrote to their chief at Madras in December 1687 "to establish such a politic of civil and military power and creat e such a large revenue to secure both. . . .as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come." The new approach was symbolised by the use of high-sounding titles for their officials in India—"such as the appointment of the senior Bombay representative as Captain-General, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces." Sir Josiah Child, the dominant personality in the affairs of the Company then (1688) ordered Job Charnock in Bengal to seize Chittagong. Hugli was sacked and the Mughal fortifications at Balasore were stormed. But unfortunately for Charnock, this was the period when Shaista Khan was the Governor of Bengal, and Aurangzeb the Emperor of India. The Mughal was too firm to allow bribe to breed perfidy, and his arm too strong to permit intrigue to flourish.

Shaista Khan was not slow "to punish the disturbers of public peace." The English factories at Patna were immediately seized and a strong force under Abdus Samad was sent to crush the English at Hugli. On receiving the report of the Governor's prompt action, the English fled down the river at Sutanati (modern Calcutta) and from that base opened negotiations for pardon and peace. In February 1687, they evacuated Sutanati and sailed further down the river and occupied the island of Hijli, with the help of a Muslim zamindar of Hijli who had already turned a rebel against the Governor. About the middle of May 1687, Abdus Samad arrived before Hijli. The fire of the heavy Mughal battery sank or put to flight the English ships. On May 28 a body of 700 Mughal cavalry and 200 gunners crossed the river three miles above Hijli town, surprised the English battery on the island and pushing farther south seized the town. The English saved themselves by flight to the fort; but 100 English soldiers and five officers could survive. The fort also fell on the fourth day. The English sued for peace, and again begged for permission of renewing their trade, assuring their loyalty for future. On August 16 Shaista Khan issued a letter in which he severely rebuked the English

for their recent acts of violence, but in spite of that granted them pardon and also permission to build a fort at Uluberia (about twenty miles south of Calcutta) and to renew their trade at Hugli.

But in the meantime the English "had also made war on the Mughal shipping on the Bombay Coast," and Shaista Khan, "on hearing of this fresh provocation, felt himself no longer bound to observe the terms which he had recently granted to Charnock. He ordered the English to return to Hugli, forbade any building at Sutanati, and demanded large sums as war-compensation."

Next year a fresh naval force was sent from London, under Commander William Heath, with the same orders "to seize Chittagong." This robber fearlessly insulted the imperial waters; but soon his courage was chilled by an annihilating blow; flight was left the only means of his safety and he flew untraceable.

The sack of Hugli (October 28, 1686) and the seizure of Hijli (February 1687) by the English was reported to Aurangzeb while he was engaged in the siege of Golkunda. The next provocation by the English had been the attack on his shipping in the Western Sea by the Bombay fleet (under the directions of Sir John Child). The Emperor immediately ordered arrest of all the Englishmen, seizure of their factories, all over his dominions, and the prohibition of all trade. On October 9, 1688, Sir John Child appeared with a fleet before Swally and sent to the Governor of Surat a list of the grievances of the English demanding compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges. The Mughal governor of Surat, in reply, lodged in prison the English factors and their Indian brokers and sent a requisite force to Swally to seize Child. As luck would have it for Child, he could effect his escape in time. However, he attacked the pilgrim ships below the mouth of the river.

At the same time, the Siddi of Janjira (near Bombay), a Mughal admiral, delivered an attack on Bombay (May 1689) and landed on the island, occupying its outlying parts. The English garrison was driven within Bombay fort, besieged and battered.

The English losses "were terrible and beyond description." Governor Child came to his sense, realised the folly of his ambition and policy and made an abject appeal for pardon, by sending a mission to Aurangzeb under G. Weldon and Abrahman Navarro (December 10, 1689).

The Mughal Court was not inclined to ruin the English. "Neither the leading Court officials, nor the Surat (Indian) merchants, wanted to see the English ruined." In Bengal, too, the new governor, Ibrahim Khan, was eager for the return of the English traders. The generous Emperor granted "his pardon to them by an order" (dated December 25, 1689) saying: "The English having made a most humble, submissive petition and (promised) that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000.... and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner.... His Majesty hath pardoned their

faults and agrees. . . .that they follow their trade as in former times." The farman was received at Surat with great ceremony on April 4, 1690, by the English and they were immediately restored to their old position in the Indian trade,

The liberality of Aurangzeb had imposed a nominal fine and resurrected the dead English. The ungrateful nation has ever misrepresented their benefactor, forgotten his kindness, but maliciously remembered his just punishment; veiled their own sins and provocations but ever accused his just measures of defence.

The Revenue

Lane-Poole has collected in his book the fiscal returns from days of Akbar to Aurangzeb's reign and they are as follows:

		£.	
Akbar	1594	18,640,000	(Abul Fazl)
"	1605	19,630,000	(De Laet)
Jehangir	1627	19,680,000	(Badshahnama)
Shah Jehan	1628	18,750,000	(Muh. Sharif)
"	1648	24,750,000	(Badshahnama)
"	1655	30,080,000	(Official returns)
Aurangzeb	1660 *circ.*	25,410,000	(Bernier)
"	1666	26,700,000	(Thevenot)
"	1667 *circ.*	30,850,000	(Bakhtawar)
"	later	40,100,000	(Official returns)
"	1697	43,550,000	(Manucci)
"	1707	33,950,000	(Ramusio)

"The preceding figures," in the words of Lane-Poole, "show a reasonable and consistent progress in the prosperity of the Empire. The increase in 1655 is explained by the addition of the tribute from the Deccan kingdoms. The decrease in revenue about 1660 and in 1707 is satisfactorily explained by the civil war and ensuing famine which accompanied Aurangzeb's accession in 1658, and the protracted campaigns and losses in the Deccan which preceded his death in 1707."

Noble Kingship

His early study of philosophy had instructed Aurangzeb that "the government of our flocks and hordes is always committed to beings of a superior species," and he had justly concluded that the man who presumes to reign should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions and subdue the "wild beast" which, according to the lively metaphor of the wise, seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. Accordingly, the throne of Aurangzeb was the seat of reason, administration of power in his hands was exercise of virtue; merit was the only recommendation; his own conduct gave sanction to his laws. The numerous letters which have been preserved from Aurangzeb's correspondence would display what noble

sentiments, splendid ideal of kingship animated the breast of Aurangzeb. In one of the letters addressed to his father, he says:

> "Almighty God bestows his trusts upon him who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to the wise that a wolf is not a fit shepherd, neither can a faint-hearted man carry out the great duty of government. Sovereignty is the guardianship of the people and not self-indulgence and profligacy."[1]

Again in another letter addressed to Shah Jehan, he wrote:

> "I wish you to recollect the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings. The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilised barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity and justice."[2]

"One is naturally curious to trace how far Aurangzeb carried these admirable theories into practice, to discover whether he really tried to rule after the exalted standard he set up in his letters and conversations, or whether these were merely fine phrases and diplomatic assurances." After raising this question, Lane-Poole proceeds to reply: "All we know of his methods of government, however, goes to prove that his fine sentiments were really the ruling principles of his life. No act of injustice has been proved against him."

Justice of Aurangzeb

In the administration of justice, the judgments of the Emperor were characterised by "attention, discernment, and impartiality and whenever he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was always in favour of the oppressed." "He was not the man," writes Lane-Poole, "who could connive at the oppression of the poor"; and the justice of his court was accessible, in the words of Lane-Poole, "to the meanest suppliant against himself, his ministers, his nobles and all the aggressors. Lane-Poole writes:

> "Ovington, whose personal authority is worth little but who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzeb's least impartial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat, says 'that the Great Mughal is the main ocean of justice. He generally determines with exact justice and equity; for there is no pleading of peerage or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzeb as the Chief Omrah; which makes the Omrahs (nobles) very circumspect of their actions and punctual in their payments."

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1. Khafi Khan.
2. Ibid.

His justice made no distinction between the prince and the common man and spared none. While Azam (Aurangzeb's third son) was the governor of Ahmadabad, a caravan of merchants, on the highway of Surat, at a distance of seventy miles from Ahmadabad, was attacked by dacoits and robbed of their merchandise and goods. The matter was reported to the prince, but he did not move on the plea that "it has occurred within the faujdari of Amanat Khan, the Collector of Surat; I have no concern with it." But as the report reached the Emperor, he forthwith held Azam guilty of irresponsibility, censured his conduct, and punished the prince by a decrease in his rank and by recovery from him of the loss of the merchants. Aurangzeb ordered:

> "Decrease five thousand from the substantive rank of the prince, and take from his agents money corresponding to the (loss) reported by the merchants. If it had been an officer other than a prince, this order would have been issued after an enquiry. For a prince the punishment is the absence of investigation. Brave for your princeship that you consider yourself inferior to Amanat Khan! As in my lifetime you are claiming to inherit the empire why then do you not make Amanat Khan a sharer of your heritage during my life?"

At another occasion, the same Prince Azam abused and misbehaved towards the superintendent of his harem, Nurunnisa and, against the strict decorum and discipline of the court, refused to take her with himself while going to the Imperial Garden at Ahmadabad. She reported the incident to Bhiroz, the prince's Nazir, and asked him to forbid the prince's journey. Bhiroz came and "stopped the riding out of the prince," and conveyed the matter to the Emperor. Aurangzeb ordered:

> "The mansabdars appointed (to that province) and Khwaja Quli Khan with his own troops and the Raja of Narwar, should co operate and prevent the prince from riding out or giving audience, pending the arrival of orders from me."

Next day, when the prince got news of it, he sent a petition through his sister Padishah Begam, begging pardon for his offences, and enclosing an agreement to a compromise sealed with the seals of the Nazir and Nurunnisa. Aurangzeb after reading the petition wrote:

> "I refrain from escheating your mahals (i.e. jagir). But if no pecuniary punishment is inflicted, you will retain the audacity to do this sort of work again. Fifty thousand rupees should be taken into the public treasury from the cash salary of this short-sighted, base-minded and foolish son, as a punishment for this offence."

Treatment with Officers

At the same time the stern Aurangzeb was winningly affectionate.

He respected his generals, officers and adherents, and treated them with great consideration. "He would go to the sick, sympathise with the sufferer, and help the needy." According to Lane-Poole, "There never were generals more highly thought of by their sovereign. He condoles with their loss of relations, inquires about their illness, confers honours in a flattering manner, makes his presents more acceptable by the gracious way in which they are given and scarcely passes a censure without softening it by some obliging expression." He says : "It would be a gross injustice to ascribe his universal graciousness to any calculating diplomacy, though his general leniency and dislike to severe punishments were no doubt due to a politic desire to avoid making needless enemies. Aurangzeb was naturally clement, just and benevolent."

"All this he did," concludes Lane-Poole, "out of no scheme of policy but from the sheer conviction of right. He had an invincible moral courage—the courage of the man who dares to act unflinchingly up to his convictions."

The Great Monarch

The evils which had been sanctioned by time and practice were corrected to a large measure by the master-hand and example of Aurangzeb. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation which pursues each virtue, at equal distance between the opposite vices. In Aurangzeb India found an emperor whose pleasure lay in zealous performance of his duties, who laboured to relieve the distress and revive the spirit of his subjects and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit and happiness with virtue. The merit, virtue and industry of Aurangzeb, his valour, his love of justice, his affability and temperance place him in that short list of emperors who adorned the *terra-firma*. Even the worst adversaries were often constrained to acknowledge the towering superiority of his genius in the arts of war and of government and to confess, with a sigh, that the "stern Aurangzeb deserved the empire of the world."

As a general rule, it is very easy for calumny and malice to shed their poison on the administration of the best of emperors and to accuse even their virtues by artfully confounding them with imaginary faults or vices. Aurangzeb has not escaped from the darts of malicious pens. The foremost among the interpreters and writers who have made assiduous efforts to misrepresent and malign Aurangzeb are the English politicians, writers and historians. The unpardonable sin of Aurangzeb in their eyes is "that his strong arm wrecked their ancestors' ambition of dominating India"; and the English nation has never forgotten "this crime." They were also interested in vilifying Aurangzeb, as it could efficiently promote among the peoples of India that discord and dissension which sustained the yoke of the British imperialism over this country. The tales of traduce-

ment and falsity have been transcribed with such repetition and barefacedness that the mere identity of an author as an Englishman is sufficient to convince that his "great work" would be a "pack of malicious lies" hurled upon Aurangzeb. The calumniating campaign has gone on in volumes and without restraint, and now it needs an effort to displace the mountain of the malicious distortions and lies and uncover the truth.

(*i*) The favourite theme of these vilifiers is Aurangzeb's supposed cruelty towards his brothers and father.[1] In developing their stories, they purposely forget that in the age of despotism, the sword "was the great and the main arbiter of right and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers." The Turkish sovereign Bayezid II, out of brotherly affection, felt inclined to accommodate his younger brother Jem (Jemshid) by bestowing upon him the province of Karaman; but the exiled prince spurned the offer by a stern retort: "There is no kinship," said he, "among princes and Empire is a bride whose favours cannot be shared." Popularity of Crispus (the eldest son of Constantine) excited the suspicion of Constantine, the great Roman Emperor, and the unfortunate prince was put to death by order of the Emperor who at once laid aside the tenderness of a father and became the murderer of his son. The first care of Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, after his father's death, was to have his kinsmen massacred and that massacre involved the two uncles of Constantius, eleven of his cousins, of whom the Patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, the praefect Ablavious Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of his bloody scene, one might add that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibalianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantine, regardless of the public prejudice, had formed between the several branches of the imperial house, served only to convince mankind that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence.

Humayun did not kill his brothers and had to lose his throne. His clemency has earned him the description of a fool. While Aurangzeb, who prevented the mischiefs which caused the ruin of Humayun, is described as "the most cruel." The observation of authors of *Advanced History of India* perhaps would serve a fair reply to shut the mouths of these dishonest people. They write: "There is no reason why he (Aurangzeb) should be singled out for severe strictures for the manner in which he secured the throne. In this, he was simply following the examples that had become almost traditional in the Timurid family in India. It would be unjust to throw on him the entire

1. J. N. Sirkar also has joined the chorus.

responsibility for the war of succession; it would have come at any rate, as none of the brothers was willing to make any compromise. It should not be forgotten that while Shah Jahan removed all his possible rivals, Aurangzeb did not put to death all his nephews. It is indeed hard to defend Aurangzeb's harsh treatment of his old father, but in justice to him it should be noted that at least he was not a patricide, of which we find numerous instances in the history of India and of other countries."

(*ii*) Then these English historians have indulged themselves in virulent attacks upon his religion, and spun up tales of "suppression of Hindus." "At last Aurangzeb was free to carry out the repressive policy towards the Hindus which must be the aim of every good Muslim. So far (1668), there had been no persecution, no religious disabilities but there can be no doubt," one says, "that Aurangzeb was nursing his zeal for the faith, until it should be safe to display it against the unbelievers." "Meantime Aurangzeb," another says, "had begun to give free play to his bigotry. A shrine at Mathura and Vishwanath Temple at Benares were razed to the ground." "He excluded all Hindus from public employment," a third one says. Yet another would write, "Such were the appointment of a mullah (a sort of Muhammadan scribe) with a body of cavalry to restrain the idol worship. . . . the foreigner proscribing the traditional institutions, the popular recreations, the characteristic arts of the country." As many pens as many insinuations. The learned introduction then is usually followed by passages such as: "The smouldering discontent waxed deeper and more dangerous and at length amounted to positive disaffection," and then we read: "The fanaticism of Hindus found vent in the insurrection of the devotees who called themselves as 'Satnamis.'" J. N. Sirkar has his own way of insinuating and distorting the facts. He says: "The discontent provoked by such measures was an ominous sign of what their ultimate political consequence would be, though Aurangzeb was too blind and obstinate to think of the future. A rebellion broke out among the peasantry in the Mathura and Agra districts, especially under Gokla Jat (1669), and the Satnamis or Mundias rose near Narnol (May 1672), and it taxed the imperial power seriously to exterminate these 5,000 stubborn peasants fighting for church and home. The Sikh gave no rest to the Panjab Officers." But the Brahman is falsified by his own tongue and his own book alike falsifies the others. Sirkar himself quotes the historian, Ishwardas Nagar, (in his *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III) saying:

> "Hindu historian, Ishwardas Nagar, thus described the repulsion which they (Satnamis) excited: 'The Satnamis are extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it! In sin and immorality they

see no blame.' "

Then he (Sirkar) proceeds to say:

"These people came into conflict with the forces of Government from a purely *temporal cause*. 'One day a Satnami cultivator near Narnol had a hot dispute with a foot-soldier (*piada*) who was watching a field, and the soldier broke his head with his thick stick. A party of Satnamis beat the assailant till he seemed dead. The *shiqqadar* (petty revenue collector), hearing of it, sent a body of *piadas* to arrest the men; but the Satnamis assembled in force, beat the *piadas*, wounded some of them, and snatched away their arms. Their number and tumult increased every hour."

Quite obviously, the trouble had nothing to do with religion. Then are these historians truthful when they describe such a civil disorder as "an outburst of Hindu fanaticism or Hindu suppression"? Is not Sirkar dishonest when he writes and repeats the outrageous lie "fighting for church and home"? It is not possible in a limited space at our disposal here to expose the falsity of each of the allegations and comments. It would be enough to say that likewise all other stories and references are malicious lies.

The shrine of Mathura was not a place built to gods and goddesses. This institution was built and run under "the patronage of Dara," to trumpet his cause. After his defeat at Samugarh, it was turned into an enlisting camp for Dara and after his death, "the sacred precincts" became a den of robbers and rendezvous of Dara's partisans for planning intrigues and weaving up conspiracies against the government. The Benares temple, too, was a nest of robbers and rebels; but the crime of its voluptuous head priest hastened its destruction. Rani Jai Singh one early morning went for worship to the temple and there her modesty was attacked by the licentious and daring Brahman who conducted the worship. The crime was reported to the Emperor who left the matter to the judgment of Jai Singh. The wrath of the offended Raja demolished the temple and sentenced to death the entire lot of the "holy" Brahmans.

(*iii*) Again Aurangzeb is charged that he was a "rigid" Sunni Musalman, "destitute of all tolerance"; that his "narrow-mindedness even did not spare Shiism" and that the conquests of Bijapur and Golkunda (whose rulers were Shias) "were but a display of his implacable and active hatred against Shias." J. N. Sirkar grows bitingly virulent and waxes a great eloquence. He writes: "Fierce as was Aurangzeb's hatred against the Hindus, it was equalled by his aversion for the Shias—Aurangzeb threw the cloak of Sunni orthodoxy over his aggressive conquest of Bijapur and Golkunda, of which the rulers were Shias."

(*a*) A liar, it is said, has no memory; the Brahman is belied by his own narration; and the material given in his work strips naked the falsity of the allegations of others. "From the day when the Emperor

Akbar launched forth into a policy of conquest south of the Vindhyas to the day ninety-four years later, when Aurangzeb rode in triumph into the fallen capital of the last of the Qutb-Shahs," proceeds Sirkar's book (Vol. II) to say: "the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda could never for a moment forget that the sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperor was their final extinction and the annexation of all their territories. A union of hearts between Bijapur or Golkunda and the Mughal Empire was a psychological impossibility."

Again he says: "The rebellion of Prince Akbar changed the history of the Deccan. His flight to Shambhuji raised a danger to the throne of Delhi which could be met only by Aurangzeb's personal appearance in the South. But for this alliance between the "Disturber of India" and "the infernal son of the infernal infidel"—as Aurangzeb called the two—the Emperor would probably have let Deccan affairs follow their wonted course; he would have left Bijapur and Golkunda to be occasionally threatened by his generals. At all events, after Jai Singh's costly failure (in 1666) he could not have easily induced to risk all the material resources and armed strength of the Empire on the speculative Deccan adventure, and without such expenditure Bijapur and Golkunda could never have been forcibly annexed. The Maratha king would have been tolerated by Aurangzeb as a thorn in the side of the Bijapuris and therefore really an ally of the Mughals,—which was the very policy towards Shiva advocated by the astute Jai Singh."

(*b*) "Letters," says a Frenchman of genius, "are the very pulse of biography." They show the core of an individuality, and reveal the relations of the character of the man to his work."[1] A letter of Aurangzeb, which is included in Sirkar's *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, then would strip naked the dishonesty of these dishonest writers: "When Mohammed Amin Khan (Chin Bahadur), brother of the famous Qalich Khan, returned with the revenue, after fighting with the shameless Marathas, gaining victories, and convoying the Government treasure in safety, His Majesty presented him with a horse adorned with gold trappings, a dagger with a *Kalgi*, and the robe of honour worn on his august person. When he saw these successive favours, he submitted a petition:

> "[*Copy of the Petition* :] 'Hail! saint and spiritual guide of the world and of its people! Both the paymasterships have been conferred on heretical demon-natured Persians. If one of the paymasterships be given to this old and devoted servant, it would be a means of strengthening the (Sunni) faith and of snatching away employment from accursed misbelievers. O, ye faithful! do not take as friends your own and our enemies.'

1. J. N. Sirkar, *Aurangzeb's Reign*, Ch. XVIII.

"Across the sheet of the petition Aurangzeb wrote:

> " 'What you have stated about your long service is true. It is being appreciated as far as possible. As for what you have written about the false creed of the Persians, (I answer)— What connection have worldly affairs with religion? And what right have matters of religion to enter into bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine. If this rule (suggested by you) were established, it would be my duty to extirpate all the (Hindu) Rajas and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers.' "

Again the Brahman conveniently forgets that most of Aurangzeb's nobles and officers were Shias. As for instance:

(1) Asad Khan (real name Ibrahim), was Aurangzeb's Prime Minister for thirty-one years till Aurangzeb's death.
(2) Zulfiqar Khan (real name Ismail) Aurangzeb's commander-in-chief.
(3) Ruhullah Khan, Aurangzeb's Paymaster (one of his daughter was married to Prince Azim, a son of Bahadur Shah).
(4) Mir Jumla, the famous Governor of Bengal and conqueror of Assam and Cooch Behar.
(5) Shaista Khan, the celebrated Governor of Bengal and maternal uncle of Aurangzeb.

The design underlying this falsity is to throw seeds of dissension and discord among the Musalmans as well.

Among the present-day hostile Indian writers J. N. Sirkar stands in the forefront and his distortions, dishonest twists and malignant comments earned him "knighthood" from the British masters. In his eyes the greatest crime of Aurangzeb was that he was Muslim who lived up to his conscience. Either he does not know Persian or his translations are dishonest. His malicious selections, presentation of matter and vicious interpretations exhibit a depraved mind, the proverbial Brahmanic hatred and a vile pen. In fact he has chosen Aurangzeb to malign Islam. His book, Vol III, fully betrays his mind; his theory of Islamic polity is the outcome of not his ignorance but dishonesty; and his assertions and reasoning that tolerance is alien to Islam are simply wicked and are amply belied by the very existence of the non-Muslim populations living in India today as well as by all the judicious scholars of Islam among the non-Muslims.

The Brahman's life-long labour in the shape of *History of Aurangzeb*, is not an history, but a compilation of lies, insinuations unwarranted, and misleading narration of events and perverse inferences. He has laboured hard to represent every raider, robber and dacoit, who by their rapine and cruelty afflicted the people, as a national hero and every dacoity, raid, robbery, and defiance of law and order as a national movement.

The Brahman has fearlessly made unfounded statements with

the presumption that seldom one takes upon himself the inconvenience of comparing, checking and refuting. He states: "The Chief Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam (one of the purest characters of the age) tried to dissuade the Emperor from these wars between Muslims as opposed to Islam. But Aurangzeb grew displeased at the opposition; the honest and manly Shaikh resigned his post, left the Court, and for the rest of his life rejected the Emperor's repeated solicitations to resume his high office." The entire statement is not only untrue, but absurd—a figment of a fertile brain.

"After the victory, of Samugarh, when the other Qazis refused to declare Aurangzeb's usurpation of a living father's throne as legal, Abdul Wahhab issued a decree," writes the Brahman:

> "asserting that as Shah Jehan was physically unfit to govern, the throne was virtually vacant and therefore Aurangzeb's accession to it was no violation of Quranic Law. For this eminent service his patron made him Chief Qazi of the Empire."

Again at another place, he states:

> "At the arrival of the Emperor in person the rebellious prince had either made his submission or fled in shame. But Aurangzeb's ambition had ridden over decency and the established conventions of society. Hence, he now came to be execrated by the public as a bold bad man, without fear, without pity, without shame.
>
> "To recover public respect, he had to pose as the champion of Islamic orthodoxy, as the reluctant and compelled instrument of the divine will in a mission of much-needed religious reform. Hence he displayed extreme zeal in restoring the ordinances of pure Islam and removing heretical innovations, that the people might forget his past conduct as a son and a brother."

Here again no source is quoted and no authority is given. These misleading statements and inferences look absurd on the face of them and are false, destitute even of an iota of truth.

Sirkar has repeated no less than one hundred times hat Aurangzeb ordered destruction of "Hindu temples" and the manner of repetition makes the base object of the author abundantly clear. He often repeats that the Emperor destroyed (in 1679-80) as many as 240 temles in Mewar alone. But unfortunately for his pretended ignorance, even this day when population has multiplied ten times, there do not exist in Mewar as many as 240 temples! He forgets that Rajputs were of Scythian origin who had tolerated but never submitted their souls to Brahmanism; the Aryan temples had no attraction for the Rajputs. The Rajput dignity was ever injured to bend themselves low before lifeless, motionless and powerless idols. It was therefore that Rana Devi Singh Bundela got the lofty and massive temple near his palace at Bundela, capital Urchha, demolished and

built on its site a mosque on the visit of Shah Jehan to the place.

His description and presentation of the disorders of Mewar and Marwar is a total misrepresentation and distortion of facts. At one place he accuses Aurangzeb of an ambition of annexation of Jodhpur with the Mughal Empire; while at another he says (contradicting himself): "At last Aurangzeb threw off all disguise (of bigotry) and attacked the Rajputs." On December 10, 1678, Maharaja Jaswant Singh died at Jamrud when commanding the Mughal posts in the Khyber Pass. He left no son to succeed him. His elder brother, Amar Singh, had been disinherited and banished from Marwar by their father. Aurangzeb went to Ajmer to settle the question of succession; and, according to the Brahman himself, in the meantime, news "reached of the birth of two posthumous sons of the late Maharaja." This change in the circumstances settled the dispute of succession. But the question that arose now was of regency during the minority of the successors. Durgadas, an inveterate intriguer, anxious to usurp the authority at Jodhpur, hatched an intrigue and enlisted the support of Mewar. The defiance of the intriguers invited punishment of the Central Government. The Mewar Raja, the chief act or, after being defeated, fled to hills and, after serious reverses, su ed for peace through Shyam Singh, the Raja of Bikanir. Aurangzeb was satisfied with his apology and cession by the Raja of parganahs of Mandal, Pur and Bednor. The Mughals withdre w from Mewar, and Jai Singh with the title of Rana and the rank of a Commander of Five Thousand was restored to h is throne. Two months after the treaty, Bhim Singh paid his respects to the Emperor and was taken into Mughal service with his son. While Ajit Singh (Rana of Marwar), in whose name Durgadas intrigued for power, exhibited his loyalty by giving in marriage his daughter to Furrukh Siyar. Sirkar's attempt to give the Rajput disorders a religious turn is not honest. His version that the cession of territory made by the Maharaja in lieu of *Jizya* is shown simply false and misleading by Lane-Poole's account. He writes: "The hated jizya was not even named in the treaty; a small cession of territory was made by the Rana as an indemnity for siding with Prince Akbar."

The Brahman, time and again, repeats the tales of "Hindu suppression," but he purposely forgets that "Sahu," the real founder of the organised Maratha power, was brought up by the very Aurangzeb. The life, education and training of Sahu attest the toleration of Aurangzeb which the pagans, the Brahmans and others enjoyed. The first thing Sahu did, after Aurangzeb's death and his release, was that he went to the place where Aurangzeb died and then to Aurangzeb's grave to "pay his deep respects"; and, out of regard for the Emperor, Sahu, in spite of many allurements of rapine, sternly forbade his raiders from plundering in the region of Aurangabad where the Emperor lay in eternal sleep. Sirkar would complain of *Jizya* but conveniently forget that "the Emperor damaged his exchequer

by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs (which brought in a crore of rupees) of the unbelievers and by granting vast freeholds to their institutions."

In fact from beginning to the end, his book is but an exhibition of malice and jealousy; every paragraph and every material sentence bears malice; the quotations are unreliable; many of "the letters" referred to are not genuine. The sources are imaginary. The book is full of contradictions and require no outside material to belie the Brahman. It needs a book to properly expose and deal with so numerous lies, distortions, and unfounded statements; but then, it is difficult to convince the perverse.

Among the old writers Khafi Khan is the most prominent. Khafi Khan's father, who was a confidential servant of Prince Murad, took an active part in the conspiracy hatched to effect escape of the prince by fastening a rope to the ramparts of the fortress of Gwalior (where Murad was confined). Aurangzeb's long arm of justice brought to book his extortions, humbled his arrogance and injured the interests of his family and children. Again Khafi Khan's was a case of frustration; his best efforts could make no impression against the superior merit in Aurangzeb's court nor could his flattery gain him any position.

I would close this chapter with a passage from Lane-Poole. He writes:

> "The hostile criticisms of travellers regard chiefly Aurangzeb's conduct as Prince: to his acts as Emperor they manifest little save admiration. Throughout his long reign of nearly fifty years no single deed of cruelty has been proved against him. Even his persecution of the Hindus, which was of a piece with his puritanical character, was admittedly marked by no executions or tortures. Hypocrite as he was called, no instance of his violating the precepts of the religion he professed has ever been produced, nor is there the smallest evidence that he ever forced his conscience. Like Cromwell, he may not have been 'a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things,' but he undoubtedly 'put himself forth for the cause of God,' like the great Protector, a mean instrument to do God's people some good, and God service."

At another place he observes:

> "As it (his system of government) was, it preserved internal peace, and secured the authority of the throne during a long and critical reign. We read of few disturbances or insurrections in all these fifty years. Such wars as were waged were campaigns of aggression outside the normal limits of the Empire."

CHAPTER IV

DISINTEGRATION

Aurangzeb's Rule—Absence of Rule of Succession and Its Disasters—Cause of Mughal Ruin—Furrukh Siyyar's Victory—Dangerous Rise of Sayyid Brothers, Their Want of Merit and Insolent Ambition—Persecution of Nobility—Affront to the Emperor—Their Perfidious Alliances and Moves—The Inexperienced Emperor and His Weakness—Husain Ali Khan's Arrival at Delhi with Maratha Hordes and His Revolt—False Pretences of the Sayyids— Furrukh Siyyar's Faith in Their Oaths, His Acceptance of Their Terms—Sayyids Gain Control—Furrukh Siyyar's Arrest, Deposition, Captivity—Sayyids' Base Treatment—Murder of Furrukh Siyyar—Civil Commotion—Abdullah's Outrage on Mughal Harem—Public Resentment—Uprisings of Soldiers and Provincials—Atrocities of Sayyids, Their Efforts to Win Attachment of Non-Muslims—Rule of Terror—King-makers—Disorders and Insecurity, Increasing Public Discontent and Disaffection—Conspiracy against Husain, His Murder—Defeat of Abdullah—Sayyids' Calamitous Rule.

Mohammed Shah on Mughal Throne; Disappoints Expectations—Indiscipline—Abnormal Degeneration—Koki, Her Influence and Intrigues—The Miserable Nizam-ul-Mulk—Udhambai—Creation of Hereditary Subedariship and Dismemberment of Empire—Ruin of Administration—Progress of Raids, Rapine and Invasions—Woeful Reign of Mohammed Shah.

Ahmed Shah—His Education—His Degeneration—Javid Khan—Safdar Jang, His Want of Merit, His Sordid Ambition, Follows into Sayyids' Footsteps, His Alliances with Marathas and Jats—Assassination of Javid Khan—Rupture with Emperor—His Dismissal, Rebellion and Armed Conflict with Ahmed Shah and His Defeat.

Estrangement between Imad and the Emperor—Ahmed Shah's Arrest and Deposition—Elevation of Alamgir II and His Assassination.

Disintegration and Ruin of the Mughal Empire—Wild Ambition and Anarchy.

Aurangzeb's Rule

ISLAM made the biggest and the last onward march in India during Aurangzeb's reign; active virtues of life came to the forefront and the pernicious effects of Akbar's half-beliefs, in a large measure, disappeared. Aurangzeb's high example, firm hand and assiduous effort softened the theological bitterness that had been inflamed by Abul Fazl, healed up the wounds which the hand of Akbar had inflicted on the vanquished Afghans and others and presented in his government the Muslims of India as a consolidated nation. "His wonderful capacity, strength of character, and life-long devotion to

duty had generated a force which held together," in spite of the havoc wrought by the destructive elevation of "Sayyid Brothers" and the rapid successions that followed, "the frame of the Delhi Government seemingly unchanged for a period of more than thirty years."

Disastrous Wars of Succession

One of the great imperfections inherent in man and human institutions, to which are attributed the great convulsions that from time to time agitated the world, is the undefined right to the crown which the princes of the reigning house innocently and by tradition claimed to inherit and possess by birth. In the age of manly spirit, every prince, without folly, entertained a hope of being raised by valour or fortune to the throne. In fact the princes grew up as rivals and not as brothers; they "discovered and developed" almost from their infancy a fixed and implacable antipathy against each other and their minds "were moulded to stake their lives against the chance of empire." Their mutual aversion, confirmed by years and fomented by the arts of their interested favourites, led to occassional feuds and factions. Every ruling monarch had the misfortune to witness the unhappy discord of his sons; and his endeavours and his expedients of advice and authority to allay the growing animosity among his sons were invariably helpless. If his eldest son asserted the right of primogeniture, the younger courted the affections of the people and the soldiers; and the chiefs espoused the cause of one or the other pretender, often not for upholding any right or principle, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection or to pursue an aspiration to become usurpers on their own account in one shape or another.

This unsettled condition led to the most hideous factions and frequent civil wars through which a prince was invariably obliged to cut his way to the throne of his father; and the mischiefs that flowed from the contests of unsatisfied ambition were varied and many. Every succession plunged the country into the misfortunes of dreadful wars and disastrous disorders. The empire was shaken by the fury of the contending armies; the country was agitated by the persecutions, permitted by the victorious competitor; and the liberal price of the elevation of the fortunate rival instantly discharged to the troops, under the names of pay, donation and reward, exhausted by public exchequer. And while the forces of the empire were engaged in mutual destruction, the daring hopes of ambition were let loose from the restraints of allegiance and faithfulness; the distant provinces threw off the yoke when no longer restrained by the powerful hand that imposed it; and the active robbers, who had long hovered on the frontiers and watched the moment, made vexatious inroads upon the rich provinces; and if opportunity favoured they overturned the old regime.

Cause of Mughal Ruin

In no country have these miseries—the miseries which the disputed claims to the throne in the absence of a regulated succession entailed on a country and its people—been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence of wars of succession been more frequent and the claimants more numerous. Within twelve years of Aurangzeb's death as many as seven wars of succession were fought; and from the death of Akbar down to the capture of Delhi by the British—a period of two hundred years—there has been no accession to the Mughal throne which was not disturbed by competition and stained by blood.

This very want of a fixed rule of succession to the Mughal throne eventually proved as much ruinous to the cause of Islam in India as it was to the great and splendid Empire.

Furrukh Siyyar's Victory

During the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, Prince Azimush-Shan, the eldest son of Bahadur Shah (Aurangzeb's son), was fixed in Bengal as its Subedar. In 1706, on his departure to the Deccan, in obedience to summons of the Emperor, the Prince left behind his second son, Farrukh Siyyar, as his deputy, in charge of the administration of the province. Farrukh Siyyar was recalled to Delhi in 1710; and while he was at Patna, the Emperor Bahadur Shah died. Struggle for the throne plunged the country into a fresh civil war. Furrukh Siyyar raised the standard of Azim-ush-Shan and actively proceeded to gather round him warriors of the Empire and supporters of his father's claim. His vigorous efforts succeeded to engage the allegiance of the various provincials and chiefs among whom Saf-shikan Khan, who held the deputy subedariship of Orissa, Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, who had been raised by Azim-ush-Shan as his deputy in the Subedari of Patna, and his elder brother Hasan Ali Khan, known as Sayyid Abdullah, the Faujdar of Allahabad, were the most notable for their enthusiasm towards Prince Azim-ush-Shan. Chabila Ram, Faujdar of Kera and Karra, and Asghar Khan, Faujdar of Itawa, also later on joined. In the meantime reached the intelligence of the defeat and death of Azim-ush-Shan in 1711 and of the eventual success of Jehandar Shah. A council of action, summoned to consider the situation in the zeal of the moment and careless of future dangers, saluted Farrukh Siyyar as the Emperor of India and assured the Prince that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. The proclamation by tumultuary but unanimous voice of the provincials, chiefs and of the soldiers meant a signal of a fresh civil war. The Emperor Jehandar Shah, who had neglected to follow his success with care and vigour and whose base and licentious conduct had soon provoked a storm of distraction and disaffection among his subjects and abhorrence of the nobles, was astonished in his peaceful palace at Delhi, by the hostile approach of a new enemy. But wine and women perhaps were more tempting than the Mughal throne

which could not urge the sovereign to proceed in person to crush the sedition of Furrukh Siyyar. In accordance with the advice of Lal Kunwar, Emperor's eldest son, Aazzuddin, with Khwaja Hasan, a courageless man of pusillanimous disposition, was sent to destroy the enemy; and the Emperor wasted a precious time with supine indifference in the company of wine and his women till the alarming news of his son's defeat startled his indolent mind and the clamours of the people roused him from his fatal lethargy and sexual indulgence. At the head of a military force as could be collected on a sudden emergency, the licentious Emperor marched from Delhi, gayfully adorned with the train of Lal Kunwar and her party, to fight the battle for the Empire. The two armies met near Agra. According to Khafi Khan, on comparing the strength of the rival forces, "most men anticipated a victory for Jehandar Shah. But the Emperor's partiality for low women, his liking for low company, and his patronage of base-born men disgusted and provoked all the nobles of Iran and Turan. They began to speak with discontent and uttered ominous words about the defeat of Jehandar Shah. Kalich Khan Bahadur and Mohammed Amin Khan, both of them leaders of the Turanis, came to an understanding with Furrukh Siyyar; and soon the victory of Farrukh Siyyar became the hope of every man in the army, great or small." But utter want of confidence and shameful cowardice displayed by Jehandar Shah was mainly responsible for his misfortune and overbalanced every advantage of his superior strength and position; he could not stand the charge of the enemy and after a short engagement fled from the field with disgrace to lose both his throne and his life.

Dangerous Rise of Sayyid Brothers

Amidst the turmoil that attended the accession of Furrukh Siyyar, that Emperor elevated to prominence two upstarts, known to the history as "Sayyid Brothers." The odious favourites have claimed a place in the history of India; but the fatal effects of their ascent to power and of their example, as experienced by the posterity, have justly pronounced them as the principal authors of the decline of the Musalmans in India and of the grand Mughal Empire.

Born and bred up in obscurity, chance and Furrukh Siyyar's sentiments of gratefulness for a temporary service raised the Sayyids from a humble station to the first place among the dignitaries of the Mughal Empire. Abdullah, the elder brother, was appointed as the Chief Minister, while Husain, the younger brother, became the Commander-in-Chief of the imperial armies. Almost all the important offices were conferred and confirmed on their choice. The "Sayyids," however, were not capable of receiving this sudden tide of fortune. To sustain such a rapid and unexpected rise, an uncommon share of virtue and prudence was required. The two brothers, unfortunately, were more than commonly deficient in those qualities. They were wicked but destitute of merit, susceptible of vanity but

indifferent to public esteem while Furrukh Siyyar was young and "inexperienced in state affairs." He "had no will of his own. From the beginning of his reign," writes Khafi Khan, "he (Furrukh Siyyar) himself brought troubles on himself. One great mistake that he committed at the outset of his reign was that he appointed Sayyid Abdullah, a Sayyid of Barha, to the office of Vizier, which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and high-minded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience." The honoured distinctions they obtained and the royal favours they received, instead of securing their fidelity, served only to inflame the ambition of the Sayyids. Though strangers to real wisdom, the two brothers were not devoid of a selfish cunning which revealed to them that the Emperor was both timid and inexperienced; that the person of the Emperor, the seal of the Emperor, the public treasures, the civil and military authority, were all in their hands. They could perceive their own strength, and weakness of their master and hollowness of the reverential awe, which distance and mystery lends to the Emperors; and their sordid ambition instructed them to improve the situation to their own advantage. Accordingly their abilities were employed to supplant and not to serve their indulgent master. They prompted and manoeuvred for the destruction of the old hereditary nobles and the possible rivals. The simple Prince, out of sheer sense of gratitude or folly and without caring to understand the designs or character of "his ministers," became a ready instrument of every act of cruelty which the policy of those artful brothers might at once suggest and disclaim. Delhi was combed; the virtuous and deserving among the subjects were, without fault, weeded out from the state service; and many a faithful minister, loyal general and self-respecting officer, with long records of service to the Mughal throne, was included in the proscription, which endeavoured to reach everyone whose fidelity seemed inclined towards the House of Babar. Those who experienced the mildest treatment were stripped of their employment in the court or the army. But the important officers, nobles and chiefs could not secure their lives or honour. Relating the numerous assassinations and murders of the nobles, Khafi Khan writes: "In common conversation the title of Lachin Beg was changed into the nickname Tasma-kash (throng-puller). As men were subjected to this new punishment of the throng without ascertainment or proof of offence, such a terror of it seized the hearts of the nobles of the reign of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, that when anyone left his home to attend upon the Emperor, he took farewell of his sons and family."

The persecution and execution of many a prominent citizen, distinguished by his birth or merit, was bewailed by the secret tears of their friends and families; but the disgrace of ninety-two year old Asaf-ud-Doula, who had occupied and exercised the most important

offices of the state under Shah Jehan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, and by his salutary influence had "properly guided the Emperors in the paths of justice and moderation," and the murder (1712) of his son Zulfiqar Ali, once the Chief Commander of Aurangzeb, were a public calamity. The honest labours of Asaf-ud-Doula, to justify his request for his existence and that of his family, served only to inflame the hatred of Furrukh Siyyar, which he had already been taught and prepared to conceive against the aged minister.

Persecution

The nobility of the capital was humbled beneath the sullen ferociousness of the "Sayyids." Their pride was nourished by the consciousness of their unfettered power; and their insolence was encouraged by the timidity of the Emperor who, instead of embracing a bold policy, in vain strove to win the attachment of his ministers by blandishments, rewards, concessions and expedients. The "Sayyids" perceived that they depended not on merits, but on attachment of mercenary soldiers and that therefore they must have the control of state services, and must divert the public attention from the Emperor to his ministers for favours. They boldly advanced their insolent demand for a right of their prior approval to any appointment or promotion. For the first time in the history of the Mughals, the ministers of the Empire disputed with audacity the Emperor's absolute privilege of making appointments and promotions. They claimed (1712), and arrogantly endeavoured to justify by arguments, their right that, to maintain the power which they asserted by arms, their consent was essential to appointment to offices and to grant of promotions or "*mansabs*." Furrukh Siyyar was upset but he soon discovered and lamented the difficulty of dismissing the formidable ministers after they had tasted authority. Their plea, however wicked and defective in reason, was unanswerable in the eyes of the courageless Prince, particularly when the miscreants increased their weight by throwing their sword into the scales. He dreaded their fierceness, and reluctantly resigned to them the control of services and thus admitted the perfidious subjects to a participation of the imperial prerogatives. The Sayyids fully abused the privilege. "Brahmans, eunuchs and Kashmirians were granted," in the words of Khafi Khan, "*mansabs*, rents of *jagirs* and offices." "Abdullah gave to his diwan," relates Khafi Khan, "a grain-dealer named Ratan Chand, the title of Raja, and a *mansab* of two thousand and authority in all government and ministerial matters. This man attended to nobody's business without some underhand arrangement for the benefit of Sayyid Abdullah Khan and himself."

An Affront

It might perhaps have been expected that the Sayyids, having assured their loyalty with fresh oaths, would have renounced any further designs of ambitions. But it was not so. The new privilege or surrender of the Emperor emboldened rather than satisfied the

ambitious ministers. A year had scarcely elapsed after the first success of their insolence, when the Sayyid Brothers oppressed the feeble Prince with a demand, yet more rapacious and insulting and exposed him to a mortification yet more ignominous. Husain preferred a claim to the subedari of Deccan. His plan, in the words of Khafi Khan, was "to appoint Daud Khan as his deputy, to agree with him on a total sum to be paid annually, while he himself would remain at court." The Emperor granted "the unjust prayer," but desired that Husain Ali should go in person to the Deccan. But the Sayyid haughtily turned down the Emperor's wish, and, instead of obeying, violently accused Furrukh Siyyar of ill intentions and threatened to assert the authority of his arms. And to add gravity and prominence to the grievous insult, the defiant brothers "refrained from going to the court and waiting upon the Emperor."

But the successor of the "Grand Mughal" had no abilities to exercise his power or employ an expedient to save the situation and repel the danger. He sullied the Mughal name, and, instead of asserting the royal authority or proceeding to crush the enemy, Furrukh Siyyar sought, with the babblings of a weakling, mediation of his mother to help him out of the fix. For the first time in the history of Mughals, an afflicted Queen-mother (A.D. 1712) went as a suppliant to the doors of a subject.[1] Under the plea of "patching up dissensions, the Emperor was "stripped of all power and consideration and absolute discretion and control of appointments to and dismissals from all *jagirs* and offices and the charge of commandants of forts was transferred to the Sayyids." The Emperor was also obliged to part with his signet ring so that "*farmans*" appointing or dismissing commandants should not require even the formal royal assent. Having obtained these solid gains, Husain Ali "climbed down" to depart for the Deccan; but on the eve of his departure, the overbearing Sayyid warned the master of the Mughal Empire, who was unable to avenge his insulted dignity: "My authority and strength do not depend on the smile or frown of a monarch. If in my absence you (Emperor) recall Mir Jumla (a rival) to your presence, or if my brother Qutb-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Abdullah receives any ill treatment, you may rely upon my being here from the Daccan in the course of twenty days."

The incident damaged the imperial awe and prestige, robbed the throne of its royal privileges and the sovereign of his prerogatives, established the "Sayyids" as the supreme power in the Empire, and left hardly anyone in doubt as to the shape of things to come. Yet the foolish Prince, gratified by the departure of the "Sayyid," forgot the shameful happening and soon reconciled his conscience with humiliation. Instead of improving his discretion and courage, Furrukh Siyyar trifled away, in the vain luxury of the palace, those irretrievable moments which were diligently employed by the decisive activity of the

1. Khafi Khan.

Sayyid Brothers to prepare for the ruin of their benefactor and subvert the Mughal throne. Khafi Khan writes: "Furrukh Siyyar was undecisive and was inattentive to state affairs. The timidity of his character offered a sharp contrast with the vigour of the race of Timur."

Perfidious Alliances

The sordid ambition of the "Sayyids" could not find dignity in love of service. They deemed their fortune unequal to their merit as long as they were constrained to acknowledge a superior and, in pursuing that design, pinned their faith in hired services of non-Muslims. They enlisted private soldiers but, in the words of Khafi Khan, "engaged very few who were not Sayyids, or inhabitants of Barha or non-Muslims." "To win over the Marathas to his party, Husain Ali concluded a treaty with them in 1714 on the following terms: (*i*) Shahu was to get back all the territories that had once belonged to Shivaji but had been conquered by the Mughals, and to these were to be added the provinces of Khandesh, Gondwana, Berar, and the districts in Hyderabad and the Karnatak, conquered by the Marathas; (*ii*) the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six subahs of the Deccan were assigned to Shahu, who was required, in return, to maintain 15,000 horse for imperial service, to pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees and to preserve peace and order in the Deccan."[1] The authors of *An Advanced History of India*, then, proceed to observe: "The treaty of 1714 has been rightly regarded as 'a landmark in Maratha history,' as by it the Marathas were recognised 'as co-partners in the revenues of the Imperial provinces, and, as a corollary, in political power there.'" The Sayyids organised the Maratha army and eventually introduced the hostile robbers into the heart of the Empire. They (Sayyids) seduced the fidelity of various Rajput chiefs and in particular Ajit Singh, who, to the power of his important station, had added the honour of being the father-in-law to Furrukh Siyyar and contrived to enter into a secret and dangerous intrigue with him against his son-in-law. They nursed up rebellions and Sikh uprisings in the Punjab in order to keep occupied Abdus Samad, the subedar, and thus render his loyalty to the Mughal House unserviceable to Furrukh Siyyar. They incited Jat disturbances, invited the forces of disruption and sowed all round seeds of troubles. "Every cause was prepared, and every circumstance was hastened," in the words of Khafi Khan, "to drag and involve the Empire into the flames of disorders and thereby to shake off and disengage the people's loyalty to the Mughal throne."

The Inexperienced Furrukh Siyyar

Hasain Ali Khan's treaty with the Marathas in the Deccan caused stir in the country and was denounced from every quarter. "Well-wishers of the state," in the words of Khafi Khan, "urged that it was not well to admit the vile enemy to be overbearing partners in matters

1. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India.*

of revenue and government. So it was rejected by Furrukh Siyyar." The Emperor made several transfers and appointments in the Deccan, but Husain Ali Khan refused obedience and compliance. The hostile moves and the continued defiance of the Sayyids once again precipitated a new situation. Furrukh Siyyar was driven to the painful realisation that he had wasted his favours and attention and in vain made efforts to secure the allegiance of the two brothers by the "generous ties of confidence and gratitude." The "perfidious manipulations and insulting conduct" of the Sayyids now exasperated the Emperor beyond control. The inexperienced youth could not restrain his temper and suppress his desperation. He publicly declared his intention to prevent further mischiefs, which might be apprehended from the insatiable ambition of the Sayyids, by their dismissal. The Mughal nobles, who were impatiently waiting for an opportunity to unsheath their swords against the "tyrants,'" welcomed the resolution from throne and offered their services. The situation required of Furrukh Siyyar a vigorous and immediate action. But he lacked both courage and merit to execute his resolution or even to guard against consequences of his indiscreet utterances. Instead of following his decision, he indulged himself "in vain and foolish talks," and his "indiscreet utterances" alienated the sympathies of many a powerful noble, "whose resolution could decide the mighty contest," and drove many to the enemy camp. "Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sarbuland Khan," relates Khafi Khan, "were at first led to expect the appointments of *Vizier* and *mir-bakhshi*. The Emperor spoke to them both about removing the obnoxious minister Abdullah Khan from office, and they replied, 'Your Majesty can give the portfolio of *Vizier* to whichever of us deems most capable; and if Sayyid Abdullah shows any resistance after his removal, he shall be brought to punishment.' The Emperor replied, 'I know of no person more fit for the post of *Vizier* than I'tiqad Khan.' I'tiqad Khan was an idle babbler of disreputable character and had no following whatever. Every exalted noble of Iran and of Turan, when he heard that it was the emperor's wish to bestow the important office of *Vizier*, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to I'tiqad Khan."

Sayyid Abdullah welcomed the foolish utterances, engaged himself to purchase, win over and bind to himself all the Emperor's friends and fortune-seekers, and by a swift messenger asked his brother in the Deccan to reach Delhi at once. Husain Ali Khan started from Deccan in the beginning of Muharram 1131 Hijri (1719) and "Nearly sixteen thousand Marathas marched with him under the command of Khandu Daphariya, who was one of the best generals of Raja Sahu, and was his subedar of Khandesh. Santa and several other Maratha chiefs accompanied him."[1]

1. Khafi Khan.

The unpleasant intelligence of Husain Ali's departure from the Deccan alarmed the timid Furrukh Siyyar; once again he sullied the royal dignity and concluded a hasty and humiliating compromise with Abdullah. Mutual friendship was again sworn for the future; and Ikhlas Khan, "an old and devoted friend of the two brothers, was sent to Deccan to give a feeling of assurance to Husain Ali Khan and prevent his march to Delhi." But the haughty and ambitious Husain refused to forgive the Emperor; he came up with rapid marches accompanied by his Maratha allies under the commands of their various leaders such as Khandu Daphariya, Balaji Bishwanath, Santa, many of whom are seen a few years afterwards combating for the supremacy of India and erecting the standards of revolt under the walls of the fort.

Furrukh Siyyar Ruins His Cause

Furrukh Siyyar was struck with great terror. All courage forsook him and he floated between two extremes of terror and irresolution. Khafi Khan writes: "All resolution and prudence was cast aside. The opinions and resolutions of the Emperor never remained steady to one course. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers; now taking a conciliatory turn he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity." There were as yet enough nobles and soldiers devoted to him and, in all chances, a firm action might have easily crushed the enemy. Khafi Khan relates: "Rajadhiraj (Jai Singh), who raised his voice in favour of a strong action for punishment of the rebels, met with no success. The devoted nobles, of the stocks of Arab and of Ajam, felt that they had no power of themselves to beat the drums of war and bloodshed, and this was particularly the case with the Mughals, who knew all about the matter. No one had the courage to speak a friendly word to him whose head was muffled." The courageless Prince damaged his own cause by a shameful inactivity and cowardly resignation to time and fate.

The Sayyids on their part were doubtful of their success in an armed conflict. The imperial army was loyal to the Emperor; they could entertain no hope of cooperation or succour from the provinces; and the temper of the people had definitely been provoked against their undeserved and abused authority. They could gather no confidence to attack. They had already anticipated the fatal consequences of an unsuccessful rebellion; but their hopes rested more on the timidity and credulity of the Emperor than on their arms. The short interval of "a perfidious truce" was employed to concert more effectual devices and measures to deceive the credulous Prince. The emissaries of the cunning brothers were instructed to soothe the resentment, but alarm the fears of the Emperor. They were directed to confirm the loyalty of the Sayyids and his safety by solemn vows and oaths, to declare that their object simply was to

deliver the Emperor from the hands of "miscreants," and to "request" him to cooperate with them in the "noble" task. Should pride or mistaken honour or despair urge him to refuse the request, the deputies were ordered to expatiate on the inevitable ruin which must attend his rashness, if he ventured to provoke the veteran soldiers to exert their superior strength and to employ against him their valour, their abilities and those arms to which Furrukh Siyyar was indebted for his life and throne. The first reaction was a furious outburst. The Emperor boiled with rage and his feelings gave eloquence to his reply. "What favours," he exclaimed, "have we refused to these ungrateful men? What provocations and indignities have we not endured. The liberality which ought to have secured the eternal attachment of the Sayyids has exasperated them against their benefactor? What factions have they not excited against the Empire? Have they not instigated and assisted the uprisings of Marathas, Jats and Sikhs? Should I now again accept their perfidious word or precarious friendship? Can I hope that they will respect their engagements of peace?" But as the heat of the first emotion cooled down, and anger melted away, the unfortunate Furrukh Siyyar easily though insensibly yielded to the arts of the crafty brothers which had been employed to diffuse fears in his mind and discontent among his adherents. The propositions and arguments advanced by the agents of the Sayyids seemed to deserve the most serious attention of the afflicted Emperor. Everyone except the confounded and terror-stricken Emperor could perceive that the Sayyids promised only to betray and swore simply to deceive. The voice for action and punishment of the rebels, raised by the devoted nobles, met with frowns of disapproval. The vacillating Emperor, instead of relying upon his own sword and instead of accepting the rebels' challenge and breaking through the toils of the enemy, sought safety in wishful thinking, deceitful promises and wicked words confirmed by equally false oaths, and prepared himself to repose trust in the swearing of the Sayyids, the religious ceremonies and their vows of fidelity. "At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor," observes Khafi Khan, "men lost their heart, and many, taking their cue from him, went to wait upon Sayyid Husain Ali." Abdullah, then "humbly" proposed, as Khafi Khan puts, "that Raja Jai Singh, 'the disturbing spirit,' should be sent home to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor's personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain Ali's adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he (Husain Ali) would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all would be settled to the satisfaction of the Emperor." Furrukh Siyyar accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, and submitted to his fate with patient resignation. "The poor dull-witted Emperor," writes Khafi Khan, "unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, granted the demands of the Sayyids

and consented to give over the entire control of the appointments (to the artillery office of president of the privy, Emperor's personal attendants, palace guards, etc.) to Sayyid Abdullah and to the other Sayyids of Barha and their supporters."

Sayyids Gain Control

On the 5th Rabi-ul-Akhir 1131 A.H. (14th February, 1719) "Sayyid Abdullah, with Maharaja Ajit Singh, and the Maratha chiefs and their followers," relates Khafi Khan, "entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor's men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great or small men near the Emperor none was left near him or near the gates of the fort." On the 8th Rabi-ul-Akhir by which time the treacherous performance had been completed, the mask of peace and conciliation was thrown aside; and the entry of Husain Ali Khan, mounted on a white horse, into the fort with regal pomp and display, announced the Sayyids' triumph and overthrow of the Mughal throne. Furrukh Siyyar was now a helpless captive. Husain Ali refused to call on him and pay "respects as was promised on oaths and ceremonies." Instead Abdullah rode to the Emperor's palace to enjoy "with wicked pleasure the distress of a defenceless victim" whose narrow span of life diminished with every instant.

Arrest, Captivity and Murder of Furrukh Siyyar

Sayyids' Base Treatment

"That night," writes Khafi Khan, "all the city was full of dread and helplessness. The soldiers of the two brothers and their allies were posted fully armed in all the streets and markets, and no one knew what was passing in the fort, or what would happen. Sayyid Abdullah, Raja Ajit Singh and their chief supporters held counsel together, and took such precautions everywhere as seemed necessary. The Maratha chiefs, Khandu Daphariya, Balaji Bishwanath, Santa, and others, with ten or eleven thousand of their men, passed the night under arms, ready for disturbance and plunder.... The public planned to get a message sent in by artifice to Furrukh Siyyar, and to bring him out of the palace, but they were unsuccessful.... The women, the Abyssinians, the Turks all were prepared to give battle; but none could fight against the destiny." Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brother of Sayyid Abdullah, with some traitors, forced his entry into Mughal harem and savagely dragged out the helpless victims with great indignity amidst the unavailing entreaties and heart-rending wailings of his wife, sisters, and other females, who were near the unfortunate monarch. The ladies threw themselves at the feet of the Sayyids as never had been done in the history of the Mughals; but their royal distress, female humiliation and suppliant cries—nothing could move the ungrateful brothers to mercy. Nor the tears, which strove to protect or save the innocent son, of the distracted mother, who had raised the perfidious brothers to their ranks and supported them against their enemies, could obtain pardon from their ungrate-

ful temper. The Sayyids were deaf to the voice of gratitude or voice of humanity, indifferent to the sanctity of their solemn oaths and heedless of the moral values of honour and public esteem. "With courage" they outraged their oaths, violated their pledges of fidelity and branded their memory with eternal infamy. The miserable Furrukh Siyyar was ignonimiously deposed and cruelly blinded—only to be slaughtered afterwards, and was then exposed to such unthinkable tortures and such humiliating, base and inhuman treatment as would ever rise to censure the shameful meanness of the usurpers. Khafi Khan writes, "They (the Sayyid Brothers) placed him in confinement in a room at the top of the *tirpouliya* in the fort. This was a small and narrow room like a grave, which had been used for keeping prisoners destined for tortures. In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him, with nothing but an ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of it." A secret hope had been entertained that the blinded prince, born in purple, would of his own perish in the unbearable conditions of the prison-cell; but his unthought-of endurance defied those expectations. Despaired of an aid from Nature, the anxiety of the Sayyids delivered the ill-fated Emperor into the hands of murderers. In accordance with the rules of tyranny, Furrukh Siyyar was accused of entertaining a hope for escape from those tortures and was mercilessly done to death. Furrukh Siyyar lost his life and throne but the Sayyids, by their brutal murder of their benefactor, published in characters of blood an indelible story of base ingratitude and frightful perfidy.

Public Resentment

Furrukh Siyyar, though politically a stupid and inexperienced prince, was not destitute of human virtues. The uncontrollable disturbances that followed his murder, the fact that his coffin was accompanied, in spite of the Sayyids' dread and fear, by thousands of the citizens, rich and poor, mendicants and nobles, the high and low and the fact that "*Bakhshis*" of the Sayyid Brothers, who were sent to watch rather than to attend the funeral, were heavily stoned and driven away by the outraged public, amply testify to the nobility of the Emperor's character and the esteem of the people that he had engaged. Khafi Khan tells us that even beggars refused to receive food or copper coins which the affected liberality of the Sayyids offered in charity for the deceased. Thousands of the citizens of Delhi collected on the third day of the Prince's burial, contributed funds for purchase of the food that was distributed on that day and remained awake the whole night, invoking the Heaven's vengeance upon the usurpers.

Abdullah's Outrage on Mughal Harem

The murder of Furrukh Siyyar which was condemned as an act of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude, and the most insolent excess of the licence of the Sayyids, diffused universal grief and indignation among all ranks of the subjects. The indignation was aggravated

and fanned into a flame by a sharp insult which Abdullah inflicted upon the royal ladies. Abdullah's character was debased by his insatiable sensuality. A train of eighty to ninety beautiful women of every rank and of great variety was always maintained to feed his unbounded lust; and wherever the arts of seduction proved ineffectual, the brutal lover had recourse to force and violence. The brute celebrated the victory by a raid on the Mughal harem; the defenceless beauties were stripped of their veils, paraded before his rude eyes and put to face the test of amorous outrages from his heavy hands. Three of the downcast faces, which fixed his choice, were at once torn off amidst the unavailing struggle and equally unavailing cries and were atrociously removed to his seraglio to warm the contemptuous embraces of a presumptuous tyrant—the murderer of their husband, brother or master. The horrid act drew tears of every hearer. But there was left no Mughal to revenge the injuries. The heinous crime, however, converted the public contempt which had been so long brewing up against the usurpers, into a deep and universal abhorrence. The nobility whose conspicuous station and ample possession required exercise of the strickest caution dissembled their sentiments, and met the crude civility of the 'cruel brothers' with forced smiles of complacency and professions of duty. But the common people, secure in their numbers and obscurity, rose with unanimous and violent fury and gave a free vent to their passions. The streets and public places of Delhi resounded with their clamours and imprecations. The torrent of "sedition" eventually rolled towards the gates of the palace and demanded with angry voices the heads of the usurpers. About two thousand Maratha horse and foot, including the Maratha chief, Santa, who attempted to intercept and disperse the crowds were done to death. The enraged multitudes "affronted the two brothers, rejected the liberality offered, violently abused their mean conduct, and threatened to kill them." The usurpers asserted by arms "the justice of their claim" and the slaughter of five thousand faithful subjects soon made the people conscious of the imporance of their resentment against a military might.

Strong Opposition

Nor was the storm of hatred and commotion confined to civil population of Delhi. The soldiers at Agra proclaimed Niku Siya, a son of Prince Akbar, as the Emperor and denounced the Sayyids as "faithless traitors." Marbat Khan, commandant of the Shadiabad Fort, at Mandu, refused his allegiance. Salim Singh of Bundi declined to submit. Rustam Beg, Faujdar of Brijgarh, and Usman of Asir Fort, Awaz Khan, Nazim of Bihar, and almost all the provincial chiefs condemned the usurpers and offered to join Nizam-ul-Mulk for chastising "the base oppressors of mankind." Throughout the Empire a general cry of indignation was heard, and the poor and the rich, high and low alike implored the Heaven for vengeance on the

tyrants. According to Khafi Khan, "There was a strong disinclination to entering the service of the two brothers.... and desired army with which they (the Sayyids) wanted to proceed against Nizam-ul-Mulk, the much dreaded man, could not be raised."

Atrocities of Sayyid Brothers

Public Sale of Justice and Favours

Their crime should have induced the usurpers to convince the mankind by virtuous actions that the murder of Furrukh Siyyar and their act of usurpation had been the involuntary result of a fatal necessity; but instead, the vanity they assumed and the cruelty they exercised rendered their unmerited success more contemptible and pushed them soon down to the depths of infamy. Public treasures were looted; the Mughal palace was profaned and even the historical relics could not escape their mean ravages. "After the fall of the fortress," says Khafi Khan, "Amir-ul-Umara Husain Ali took possession of the treasure, jewels, and valuables which had accumulated there in the course of three or four hundred years from the days of Sikandar Lodi and Babar Badshah, and were stored away in the store-rooms. There were the effects of Nur Jehan Begum and Mumtaz Mahal. . . . amounting in value, according to various reports, to two or three krors of rupees. . . . There was in particular the sheet of pearls which Shah Jehan had caused to be made for the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal, which was spread over it upon the anniversary of her marriage, and on Friday nights. There was the ewer of Nur Jehan, and her cushion of woven gold and rich pearls, with a border of valuable garnets and emeralds." They promoted by their venal favour all those opportunists whose pretensions were supported not by merit but by treachery to the Royal House. In order to engage the attachment of non-Muslims, Jizia was abolished, cow-slaughter was prohibited; and Furrukh Siyyar's Rajput wife who had embraced Islam in the Mughal harem was also delivered to Ajit Singh. Khafi Khan relates: "Maharaja Ajit Singh took back the Maharani, his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh Siyyar, with all her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a kror of rupees in value. According to a report, he made her throw off her Musalman dress, dismissed her Muhammedan attendants and sent her to her native country. In the reign of no former Emperor had any Raja been so presumptuous as to take his daughter after she had been married to a king and admitted to the honour of Islam." The supreme command of entire civil administration—of law and order, of revenue and justice and "even of the religious affairs" was entrusted to the hands "of the debased bania," Rattan Chand, "a man distinguished only by the unfettered avarice of his rapacious soul." His "faithful service" attracted the wealth of the Empire by the "various arts of partial and general extortion—scandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjust confiscations and the public sale of justice and favour with which he profaned the Royal Court of

Delhi." One by one the nobles and chiefs began to disappear from the world. No one felt safe. The black intentions of the usurpers could not remain disguised for long. The murders and executions of the numerous prominent persons left none in doubt that the Sayyids promised only to betray, and flattered only to ruin, and that however they might occasionally bind themselves by oaths and treaties, their conscience, obsequious to their interest, always released them from the inconvenient obligations. They had raised to the throne Rafi-ud-Darajat, a phantom king, after deposition of Furrukh Siyyar. He descended to the grave after six months as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patrons. Rafi-ud-Doula was the next victim whom they adorned with the Mughal crown; but at the end of three months and two days he experienced the sad fate of his predecessor. Mohammed Shah was their next choice whom they seated on the throne which had thrice been polluted with blood and sedition.

The country groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which was fatal to peace, to prosperity and almost every virtue and every talent that arose in that unhappy period. But the usurpers' fate was no better; they could not derive, from the act of their usurpation and murder of Furrukh Siyyar, the fruit which they had meditated; and, though they acquired unfettered authority, they could find no security and enjoy no peace. Ever haunted with fear, they now realised that the royal blood which had been the price of their elevation was unprofitably spent. They had flattered their vanity by a wishful thinking that, dazzled by their success and sword, the people would soon forget the disgrace of the Mughal house or their act of usurpation. But their expectations were sadly disappointed. The universal resentment could not be suppressed or stemmed by repression. Their sword served only to inflame rather than to wipe out the surging discontent; and their oppression, instead of striking terror, excited the people to a just desire of revenge.

Public Disaffection

Bitter disaffection and discontent swept over the country. Even their own men, officials and kith and kin of the Sayyids, in the words of Khafi Khan, "prayed to God for destruction of the two brothers." He relates: "The infamous murder of the martyr Emperor (Farrukh Siyyar), the sight of the indignities which the Emperor, the representative of the House of Timur, had to endure, and the fact of the administration being under the direction of a base-born shop-keeper (Rattan Chand), had, under the guidance of the Converter of Hearts, so changed their feelings, that some of them (servants and adherents) often said, 'Although we know that we shall suffer many hardships through the downfall of the Barhas, still we hope that, through the blindness of its ill-wishers, the House of Timur may again acquire splendour.' "

Conspiracy against Husain: His Murder

The very faithless character of the Sayyids at last proved fatal to

themselves. Alarmed by the fate of his companions, I'timad-ud-Doula, Mohammed Amin Khan Chin Bahadur resolved to prevent the destruction which every hour hung over his head either from the mad ambition or caprice of the tyrants. Resting his hope on the universal disgust and hatred of mankind against the usurpers, he took into confidence his trusted associates, Saadat Khan, a Sayyid of Naishapur and the brave artilleryman, Haydar Khan, a Chughtai Turk, whose safety also urged them to share the fortune of an enterprise, of which, if unsuccessful, they were sure to be the first victims. A conspiracy against the life of the overbearing tyrant, Husain, was hatched. The measures of the conspirators were concerted and conducted with that deliberate coolness, utmost secrecy and celerity which the grimness of the occasion demanded. The opportunity was seized on 6th Zil-Hijj 1132 (31st August, 1720) when Husain, retiring from the Emperor, reached the gate of the royal enclosure at Tora (thirty-five kos from Fatehpur where the imperial army was encamping). Mir Haydar Khan, who had a speaking acquaintance with the Sayyid approached him and placed in his hands a written complaint against I'timad-ud-Doula; and while Husain eagerly engaged himself in reading the accusations against I'timad-ud-Doula, to the great joy and relief of the oppressed people, Haydar buried his dagger into the breast of the hated usurper, and deserved the name of "a generous deliverer." The fidelity of his mercenary legions, which might or could have defended Husain and his authority against an open rebellion, could not secure his person from the dagger of a determined citizen. The brute died instantly and his death, which excited neither surprise nor compassion, was celebrated as a visible effect of divine justice and as an instance of the great law of Retribution. Abdullah, the elder brother, getting the melancholy intelligence of Husain's death, rushed up with all the speed possible to destroy the murderers of his brother and to crush a seditious crowd which, he thought, would flee at his sight. But the Heaven had heard the people's prayers. Every Musalman joined against the Sayyid. What he supposed a tumult, became a regular engagement. A bloody and fierce battle ensued and sealed the fate of the usurpers' rule. Abdullah received a sword cut on his hand and an arrow on his forehead and, when charged by Haydar and his companions, the disgraceful wretch, instead of receiving with manly resolution the stroke of death, "shamefully exclaimed that he was a Sayyid," and, by his shrieks for mercy and entreaties for quarter, disgraced his life and converted into contempt the regard if any which his enterprising spirit might inspire.

End of Sayyids' Power

Thus ended the transient but calamitous rule of about one and a half year of the faithless usurpers whose elevation inflicted the deepest and most ignominious wound the Mughal Empire and the Musalman had ever sustained.

Calamitous Rule

The worthless Sayyids, if they had been capable of reflecting on the sure consequences of their misconduct, would, perhaps, have enjoyed the dark prospect of the distress and calamities which they bequeathed to the coming generations. They violated the sanctity of a throne which had been raised with so much labour, cemented with so much blood and guarded with every defence of arms and treasures. The rapid transitions from the obscure corner to the throne and from throne to the grave loosened the ties of allegiance between the people and the Emperor. The reverence and awe of the Mughal arms was destroyed; the terror of the Mughal name disappeared; the Empire was thrown to the havocs of an irretrievable disruption, wild anarchy and disintegration. Discipline was corrupted and irreparably damaged by the ambition of the Sayyids; the future ministers were ever disposed to imitate the example of treason which the usurpers had set. Safdar Jang soon afterwards followed them in their footsteps and set up the standard of rebellion; he also sought help from the Marathas and spared no labours to damage the Empire. His defeat in a bloody battle alone could restrain his mad ambition. The defence of the frontiers, which had always consisted in arms and strong fortifications, was neglected and abandoned; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the ambition of daring subedars or to the rapaciousness of the Marathas on one side and Afghans on the other who soon discovered the decline of the Mughal Empire and spared no time and effect to profit themselves by the situation. In fact it was the Sayyids' sordid ambition which laid the foundation of and organised the future Maratha power. According to the authors of *An Advanced History of India*, "The march of the Marathas to Delhi in 1719 was a significant event in their history. The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the king-makers, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and unmake emperors. Indeed, it was the surest basis on which Balaji Viswanath could confidently build his policy of founding a Maratha Empire." As a price of his attachment to their cause, governorship of Ajmer and Gujerat was granted to Ajit Singh, "a very untrustworthy sentinel for the Mughals on the exposed frontier," and a treacherous ally "who zealously though secretly assisted the Marathas in their activities in Western India." The country was plunged in woeful disorders. The rule of the usurpers, although short, sapped the foundations of the great Empire, prepared for its ruin, and the afflicted Empire seemed every moment to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution.

Mohammed Shah

It is easier to conceive than to describe the universal joy of the people on the fall of the usurpers. The news of their dethronement and liberation of Mohammed Shah, who was universally imagined

by the people quite worthy to reign, opened a flattering prospect of restoration of the original strength and grandeur of the Mughal Empire. But the conduct of this prince soon frustrated the public expectations, and the people who expected miracles from the Emperor were completely disappointed to discover that Mohammed Shah was without talents and that his languid and suspicious disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank or allowing others the liberty to manage his affairs. The anarchy and indiscipline, the disorders and disturbances, the ruin and disaster, left behind by the Sayyids, required a vigorous character whose arms should have struck terror into the minds of the guilty and whose prudence should have rescued the Empire from the state of danger and suspense and restored the throne on a firm basis. But the feeble Mohammed Shah, who had been condemned to infancy till he ascended the throne, was wholly unequal to the task of chastising the domestic tyrants and saving or supporting a sinking world. He had grown up, encompassed only by a servile train of women or eunuchs, without attaining manly courage and kingly virtues. Separated from the world by impenetrable veils within the walls of the palace, Mohammed Shah could acquire no art of war or experience of administration. Destitute of personal merit either in peace or war, the Prince possessed no initiative of the founder of an empire, the daring of a soldier or the talents of a disciplinarian. Untrained to arms, he could conduct no operations in the field, nor show himself to his armies; nor could he endure the inconvenience of moving to the provinces and to his subjects. Mohammed Shah feared his general and suspected his ministers. He trusted those whom he loved, and he loved those who could amuse his frailties and flatter his indolence. Procrastination appealed most to his mild disposition, and the feeble and timid minds, who considered the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence, appeared in his eyes as the great statesmen of the time. His court, his palace and his councils presented a perpetual scene of weakness, intrigue and corruption and were ever besieged and dominated by fashionable coxcombs and accomplished procrastinators, skilled in the most serviceable arts of flattery and intrigue. He was incapable of decisive thinking or independent action; the weakness of Mohammed Shah, in fact, needed, "by way of support, the domination of one group or the group whose intrigues and obsequious arts could obtain his confidence. To begin with, his life and throne depended on the mercy of the "Sayyid Brothers." After their fall, he fell and remained under the sway of Koki, Raushan-ud-Doula and Abdul Ghafur till 1732 when Khan-i-Dauran and his brother Muzaffar Khan became his best confidants; and their tutelage extended up to 1739. Thereafter he was fixed under the dominance of Amir Khan, and his three associates, Mohammed Ishaq, Asad Yar and Safdar Jang, till death came to his relief, or that of the people. Delhi which had so long regretted

the absence of a lawful prince now lamented, during the long years of his disgraceful reign, the presence of a sovereign who was destitute of any council or incapable of any bold action.

"By nature," Mohammed Shah was of "weak and fickle disposition." He never hesitated to initiate intrigues against the publicly responsible vizier, to cause dissensions among his officers and nobles and to lend even the prestige of his name to the ugly factions of the court. His debased machinations divided the nobles of his court into almost perpetual and implacable factions, destroyed the unity of purpose and hit hard the administration of the Empire. "So weak became the government" that the nobles and officials "decided their private quarrels by the jungle law in bloody battles." On appointment of Hamid Khan, as deputy subedar of Ahmedabad, Shujaat Khan and Ibrahim Quli Khan, the two brothers of Haydar Quli Khan, the outgoing subedar, resolved to resist his entry in the city. Shujaat Khan boldly attacked Hamid Khan, but both the brothers were killed in the fighting that ensued. Their third brother Rustam Ali Khan who was the deputy subedar of Surat, engaged the services of Marathas and soon proceeded to avenge the death of his brothers. Two great battles were fought at Mahi (Ahmedabad District) with heavy loss of life and property. Rustam's forces at last were routed and he himself killed. But the Emperor was a silent spectator, and on receiving the intelligence of the events, Sarbuland Khan was the next unfortunate man, sent as the subedar of Ahmedabad. Before he could establish his administration, Sarbuland Khan was besieged by the Maratha hordes, and the country-side was ransacked by the Maratha robbers. Mohammed Shah, instead of sending reinforcement, dismissed the new governor and appointed Raja Dungar Singh in his place. Sarbuland refused obedience to the Emperor's orders, resisted and put the Raja to flight. Such disgraceful happenings were the order of the day; but nothing could excite the feeble sovereign to rise up to the dignity of his rank. Neither he himself would act nor his suspicious and jealous mind would allow free hand to those who were capable. Agreeable to his nature, the policy "of dividing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading whatever is active and of expecting the most feeble to prove the most obedient," was the guiding principle of his life.

Abnormal Degeneration

Yet another misfortune, which hastened the fall of the Empire, was the abnormal degeneration of the Mughal character. Akbar's religion, his gay life and his liberty from moral restraints, Jehangir's licentious life, the luxurious splendour of Shah Jehan's court and the luxury of Jehandar Shah had instilled a secret and deadly poison into the vitals of the Mughal vigour, gradually extinguished the fire of genius and bred up indifference and effeminacy in what "had once been an army of hardy mountaineers." India had proved the

"Capua of Babar's veterans"; the enervating luxury had "relaxed their thews and softened their training"; and wine and women had become "the curse of the palace and the court alike." "The heroic soldiers of the early empire and their not less heroic wives had given place to a vicious and delicate breed of grandees." It is this degeneration also in which we find the important circumstances of the decline and fall of the great Empire—a fall which is still felt by the nations of the earth and will always be remembered in future. Jehandar Shah valued nothing in his sovereign power, except an unbounded licence of indulging his sensual appetites. "It was," writes Khafi Khan, "a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors." The influence of the prostitute Lal Kunwar on the Emperor, which has saved her name from oblivion, was notorious. Careless of the public censure, the successor of the "Grand Mughal" lived without restraint in the pleasant society of this woman and her train and affected even to copy the dress and manners of the female sex. He dishonoured the principal dignities of the Empire by distributing them to the relations of Lal Kunwar, one of whom was publicly invested with the subedari of Multan. When the great emergencies of the state required his presence and attention, the jolly Emperor was always found engaged in frittering away his energies in trifling or licentious pleasures. Khafi Khan transports to us an interesting story. He tells us: "Jehandar Shah used to go out sometimes in a cart with his mistress and some companions to enjoy himself in the markets and drinking shops. One night he and his favourite went out in this way and both drank so much that they became senseless. On arriving at the door of the palace, Lal Kunwar was so drunk that when she got out, she took no notice of the Emperor, but went to bed and slept heavily. The Emperor, who was absolutely helpless, remained fast asleep in the cart, and the driver drove home and put the cart away. When the servants saw that the Emperor was not with Lal Kunwar, they were alarmed, and having roused her up they inquired what had become of him. Lal Kunwar recovered sufficient sense to see that the Emperor was not by her side, and fell crying. People went running about in all directions and the Emperor at length was found lying an unconscious heap in the cart." This very gross indulgence eventually proved fatal to Jehandar Shah's fortunes and cost him his throne as well as his life.

The cares of government were unpalatable to the taste of the young Mohammed Shah. "An excellent understanding" or the "arts of parasites" soon "convinced" him that his feeble constitution was not meant for pursuing the fatiguing occupation of military life or of cumbersome duties of his rank; and that, by a natural mildness, his tender frame was preserved only for the tender assaults of passion and pleasure. He could not be persuaded to endure the burdens of administration or bear the weight of arms. At a time when it was a sacred and indispensable duty of a Mughal sovereign to devote

his life to the throne, his energies to the administration, Mohammed Shah abandoned the reins of his government to the intrigues of his base favourites and his miserable vizier, plunged into the grossest pleasures and dissipated his manhood with ungoverned fury. The faithful flattery here also could not neglect the opportunity of observing that the modest Mohammed Shah, by the peculiar indulgence of Heaven, was endowed with "unrivalled manly" vigour, and incomparable taste of pleasure. The "great" Emperor earned the title of "Rangeela." The fast life he lived made Mohammed Shah aged before time and "the master of elements" found, before long, disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflamatory arts were summoned to aid; a confused multitude of women, of wines, of opium and other narcotics and of dishes and studied variety of attitudes were pressed into service to invite and revive his languid appetites. New terms and new inventions in these sciences, "the only ones cultivated and patronised by the monarch," signalised the reign of M hammed Shah and transmitted the infamy of his name to the succ :ding times.

Ko' 's Pernicious Influence and Intrigues

At the very outset, the rural charms and unpolished beauty of Koki fix. ! the daughter of a faqir in the affections of the voluptuous Emperor and exalted her from a beggarly condition to the imperial palace under the name of "Koki Padshah"; along with her, her two base "associates," Raushan-ud-Doula and Abdul Ghafur, were also elevated as the exalted nobles of the Empire. Her majestic beauty, charming discourse and winning humour which could never fail to warm and move even the coldest sentiment soon gained an unsurpassing ascendance over the mind of Mohammed Shah. As a mark of his surrender to beauty, the Emperor surrendered to her, with peculiar complacency, the imperial scrutoire and his private signet, and she and not Mohammed Shah ruled on the Mughal throne. Koki directed the pulse of the Emperor and the importamt affairs of the state received the royal directions from the hands of love. She conducted the palace administration and controlled interviews with the Mughal sovereign. None howsoever great (a noble or chief) could approach the Emperor except through "KOKI." And the beauty of the situation was that she was fully conscious of the pernicious effects of her undeserved authority and that her ready wit never hesitated to remind the Emperor of his woeful degeneration. It is all worth while to reproduce here the two celebrated distiches which are ascribed to her genius and which she, careless of the consequences, used to sing to Mohammed Shah.

> "It is a strange phenomenon that hens have occupied the place of the Imperial (cocks). Possibly the ignoble sky may dance in a fit of joy; as it has fallen to the lot of the drummers to ply swords."

The Miserable Vizier

At this time Nizam-ul-Mulk, a man of celebrated merit and valour, was the prime minister. The people applauded his spotless integrity; enemies dreaded his sword; the fall of Sayyids and suppression of Marathas attested his military talents. His assiduous labours restored the peace of the country, respect for the administration and vigour of the state. Whatever be the means he employed, the people of the Empire enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. Khafi Khan observes: "In a short time the country was brought under the control of Musalman authorities—it was secured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former subedars the roads had been infested with ruffianism of highway robbers, and the rapacity of the Marathas and rebellious Zamindars, so that traffic and travelling were stopped; but now the highways were safe and secure." And the public opinion now genuinely expected from him alone the restitution of the old Mughal glory and greatness. But his faithful and important services, his enthusiasm to root out indiscipline and corruption and his universal popularity instead of receiving appreciation from the Emperor, invited his "mean jealousy." And unfortunately for the vizier and the Empire, Koki had neither the grace nor the education nor the accomplishments of Nur Jehan. Her faculties were exercised by corrupt and base guidance of her infamous associates, Roshan-ud-Doula and Shah Abdul Ghafur who fomented a secret and base grudge against a formidable hero, who could have saved the Empire. The palace intrigues thwarted his measures and interfered with his administration. The Emperor was instructed to fear and hate the faithful servant. Khafi Khan writes: "There was the envy and opposition of the courtiers, especially of Koki Padshah, who would interfere in ministerial affairs, and, by receiving bribes and improper gifts, was bringing the Emperor into bad odour. She was strongly opposed to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Lastly, there was the indifference of the Emperor himself, who made no resistance to his falling into ill-repute. The etiquette of the court and the discipline of the state had fallen entirely away from the proper dignified standard of royalty and Nizam-ul-Mulk desired that orders should be issued to restore it to a proper level. This greatly irritated the courtiers and day by day they made statements about Nizam-ul-Mulk which were entirely opposed to his thoughts, and by envious and malicious insinuations they poisoned the mind of the Emperor against this devoted servant." All wisdom and valour of the vizier was rendered unserviceable. The disgraceful encouragement by the ungrateful and fickle-minded Emperor to the palace intrigues disappointed and embittered the noble minister beyond measure. The following couplet, composed by his sensitive mind, tortured by the painful distress of beholding the ruin of the Empire, may help us to understand the success of those courtiers.

"What else can men do but throw dust on their heads, as today a woman

sits in the place af Aurangzeb)."

Nizam-ul-Mulk's only weakness which rather testifies the nobility of his character, was his unswerving fidelity to the throne.[1] Without entertaining any design against the Emperor, he resigned in sheer disgust in 1724.

Udham Bai

After Koki's fall from favour, the master of the Mughal Empire extended his royal patronage to the famous Udham Bai (the mother of the Emperor Ahmed Shah), a lewd dancing girl, and dropped into her hands the reins of administration. She was as much celebrated for her gallantries as for her beauty. Mohammed Shah raised her to be the Queen of the Empire. Her strange elevation, an undoubted triumph of female beauty, even failed to rectify the female vices in her. The impaired constitution and superimposed inclination to divine occupations of the dissipated Mohammed Shah were ill-calculated to engage her wanton levity, or to fix that unbounded passion for variety which often discovers personal merit in the meanest of mankind. Her monstrous vices stained with disgrace the imperial palace, and her bold intimacy with her personal servant, Javid Khan, was a public scandal so much so that the royal guards, out of sheer desperation, designed and staged a satirical and sharply dishonourable performance. They tied up a "young ass and a bitch at the palace gate on a day when a great darbar was to be held. When the nobles and other courtiers came to attend the court they audaciously urged them, saying, 'First make your bow to these. This one (pointing to the ass) is the Nawab Bahadur (Javid Khan) and that (pointing to the bitch) is Hazrat Qudsia, the queen-mother.'" The Emperor was visibly touched; but the impression of the distasteful scene was obliterated in a moment by the whisper of the profligate favourite. Mohammed Shah perhaps was the only man in the Empire who seemed ignorant or insensible to the gross irregularities of the licentious Udham Bai which, according to the prejudices of every age, reflected no small disgrace on the injured husband. He thanked the Almighty who had bestowed on him a wife so faithful and so gentle and of such wonderful attractions. During the connection, of several years, which he passed in her company, the imbecile Emperor invariably gave her proofs of most tender confidence and of respect, and promoted several of her favourites to high posts of honour and profit.

Creation of Hereditary Subedariship

Mohammed Shah initiated amputation and disintegration, and

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1. Amir Khan could hold himself no longer. He talked high in his private circle as if the viziership had been already bestowed on him, and he spoke with insolent contempt of Qamr-ud-din. His words were reported by tale-bearers to the vizier, who easily divined the nature of the plot against him, and wrote to the Nizam a full report of the state of affairs at court and sought his advice. The Nizam replied counselling his cousin not to court the tragic end and infamy of the Sayyid Brothers by taking up arms against his ungrateful master, but to resign his office, leave the worthless Emperor to his own devices, and accompany the Nizam to the Deccan. (J. N. Sirkar).

undermined with his own hands the foundations of the great Empire. In 1723 just to please Saadat Khan, he granted him hereditary subedariship of Oudh—the first step to dissolution of the Mughal Empire and a thing unknown in the Mughal history so far. In 1725 Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed in perpetuity to the viceroyalty of Deccan. Zakaria was confirmed, after his father's death in 1726, in the subedari of the Punjab; while the hereditary subedari of Bengal comprising the provinces of Orissa, Bengal and Behar was granted in 1727 to the successors of the able and strong Governor Murshid Quli Khan. In 1740 the lawful governor Sarfraz Khan was killed, but the conscience of Mohammed Shah, instead of taking action against the murderer, accepted a handsome bribery and found no reason to withhold recognition to the act of usurpation of Alivardi Khan. The province of Kabul was surrendered to the ambition of Nadir Shah; and a little later dismemberment of the "Subas of Malwa, Gujerat and Peshawar from the oppressed Empire flung another disgrace at Mohammed Shah." The unity of the Empire dissolved, and its genius humbled in the dust.

Ruin of Administration and Its Evil Effects

The intrigues of Mohammed Shah, his base courtiers and his conscience-keepers and the discord and jealousies of the nobles ruined the administration, shattered all discipline, nourished up a spirit of unsurpassing irresponsibility. The result was woeful. Revenues were not collected, the treasury became empty and there was no money to pay the soldiers and to meet the needs of the army; communications were neglected and defences of the frontiers were given up. The threads of cohesion broke up; the daring hopes of ambition were let loose; no master was left who could be feared and no protector to be appealed to; each noble took what he could of the public revenues or levied blackmail on the roads and villages outside his jurisdiction. Every chief clung to his immediate gain without a thought for the country or his own future. *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* records: "Neither the subedars nor the Amir-ul-Umara (the Delhi vizier) kept himself informed about the roads and passes of the country. No guards remained on the roads. Owing to the weakness of the government, the local officers lost all fear of being called to account. None cared for anyone else, none feared, none sought instructions from any (high officer). Everywhere everyone did whatever he liked. Anyone who wished could come and go (through the frontier roads); the Emperor and his nobles never heard of it. Neither the Emperor nor the vizier ever enquired why no news-letter was coming to the court from any province or outpost." The Maratha robbers repeatedly visited the rich Mughal provinces and "their raids spread terror or desolation from the mouth of Narbada to gates of Agra." As they were more ambitious for spoil than for glory, they seldom attacked fortified cities or engaged themselves with any regular troops in the open field. In 1737, Baji Rao whom Rustam Ali, the

author of *Tarikh-i-Hind*, derisively describes a jackal, who would take to his heels at the roar of a tiger, crossed Central India and insulted the Imperial Capital. But the catastrophe of Nadir's invasion in 1739 from the West-North which attests more the disgraceful policy of the fickle-minded Emperor, the vicious intrigues of his palace and the ugly factions of his court and his nobles, than inferiority of the Mughal valour, exhausted the imperial treasury and the nobles' mansions (in payment of the indemnity exacted by the victor, i.e. fifteen crores of rupees in cash besides fifty crores worth jewels, furniture and clothings), broke the backbone of the Mughal authority, robbed the Mughal throne of the last shred of prestige and set in rapid downfall and dismemberment of the afflicted Empire. Divinity ceased to hedge in the sovereign of Delhi. The ambitious chiefs disdained to respect the "hollow phantom of power" and the lawless forces no longer feared to raise their head against the government. In the Gangetic Doab, Afghans established themselves and Rohilkhand virtually threw off the Mughal yoke; while from the craggy hills of the South descended the Maratha hordes to ravage undeterred the unprotected provinces of the Mughal Empire. They repeatedly invaded and desolated Orissa, burst over Bengal up to Hugly on one side and on the other Malwa, Gujerat and Rajputana lay trampled and prostrate under their feet. The impunity of rapine increased the boldness and numbers of robbers and raiders. Jats raised their throne near Agra; while the Sikhs spread their terror in the Punjab. Several parts of the Empire became alienated from each other. But nothing could induce the Emperor to learn a lesson from those calamities or urge him to imitate the virtues of his ancestors or to support the name and to restitute the glory of the Mughal throne. The author of *Mirut-i-Wari-dat* writes: "For some years past it has been the practice of the Imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan, Gujerat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens to look at the newly planted and leafless trees, or rode out to hunt in the plains; while the grand vizier I'timad-ud-Doula Qamar-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure of hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and vizier alike lived in total forgetfulness of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and of the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people while these disturbances daily grow greater."

Elevation of Ahmed Shah

Mohammed Shah died in 1748, but his death could inspire no prospect or hope of healing the wounds of the civil discord, of triumph over the foreign or domestic enemies of the state, of re-establishment of the strength of the frontiers, or of restoration of old vigour and

discipline of the Empire. Ahmed Shah, his successor, who was born in purple, received a worse education than the meanest subject of his dominions could get; the capricious father suffered him to attain the age of manhood without attempting to excite his courage or to enlighten his understanding. The care to form his character was denied, and no man of virtue was summoned to his assistance to render him worthy of the throne. Mohammed Shah sacrificed the sentiments of even parental duties to his timid whims and he judged it more prudent to secure the unfortunate Ahmed Shah, his only son, in the strongly guarded walls of the harem palace. The household consisting of eunuchs appointed to attend rather to guard Ahmed Shah was unworthy of training the prince in arms, exercises and administration. The predecessors of the "Mughal" were accustomed to animate by their example or at least by their presence the valour of the soldiers; and the dates of their visits attest the perpetual activity of their movements through the provinces of the great Empire. But the son of Mohammed Shah wasted his minority amidst the scandals of the harem eunuchs and palace slaves, and passed his days a captive in a corner of the palace of his father, a stranger in country and an indifferent spectator of the ruin of the Empire.

Degeneration

Transported from the almost prison to the throne, the twenty years old Ahmed Shah naturally possessed neither genius nor application nor docility to compensate for the want of knowledge or experience. There was no competitor to remove nor enemies to encounter. In this elevated station, it was surely natural that the unfortunate son of Mohammed Shah, who was unable to bear arms and face armies, untrained to the art of administration, enervated by a dissolute education of the degenerate palace eunuchs and harem women, should prefer the luxurious ease and softer pleasures of his father to the wearying hardships of responsibility and the painful weight of administration. Immediately after his accession, the young Ahmed Shah, leaving his responsibility to his mother's gallant Javid Khan, abandoned himself with furious zeal to wine and women. His hours were spent "in a seraglio of hundreds of beautiful women,[1] of every rank and of province; and the intervals of lust were filled up with basest amusements." The perfidious voice of flattery, which attends exalted station, gradually extinguished the innate sense of shame in Ahmed Shah's mind; and the "successor of the great Mughals" saved his name by exhibition before the public eyes of those basest tastes which so far he had confined within the walls of his palace and to the presence of a few favourites. An area of ten miles square, on the bank of the river Jamna, was cleared of males, and turned into a "women's preserve." Bowers and parks were beautifully trimmed and plentifully stocked with sufficient number of charming

1. Khafi Khan.

and obsequious damsels. This sensual paradise, where pleasure imperceptibly dissolved even the firmest of the manly virtues, was the main pride of the "great sovereign" who, according to Khafi Khan, "used to disport himself in his female company for days, weeks and months in the Nature's surroundings of shade and water."

Javid Khan

"Javid Khan, though now fifty years old, was absolutely illiterate. He had never held any administrative charge, nor seen a battle in all his life, and yet he now began to decide all questions of war and peace, revenue and organisation as the supreme authority. Abyssinian and Turkish slaves had displayed the highest military and administrative capacity in the long roll of Muslim history in India. But Javid was not of that breed. His vulgar ambition was to acquire supreme influence by pandering to the Emperor's vices and humouring the Queen-mother, and to use that influence to enrich himself. He assigned to himself the most lucrative jagirs and also appropriated the revenue collection that ought to have gone to feed the Emperor's household and army. His good word in the Emperor's ears was purchased by suitors for lakhs of rupees."

"The nobles of the realm revolted at the idea of paying their court to a slave and eunuch; the royal ministers felt insulted when the Emperor referred them to this man for orders on their official business. They stood aloof from him in aristocratic contempt. Javid Khan returned their hate by heaping neglect and scorn on them, gathering the poor middle-grade nobles round himself, and promoting his own base creatures to dignity and office. The result was a complete breach between the young and inexperienced Emperor and the hereditary supporters of the throne."

Safdar Jang, His Elevation and Sordid Ambition

There was a new distribution of offices at the accession of the new sovereign. The vacant viziership was conferred upon Safdar Jang, who had neither merit nor capacity to meet the unusual difficulties with which his office was besieged. But his ambition was as sordid as that of "Sayyid Brothers." "The new imperial vizier, Safdar Jang, was a malignant star in the Delhi firmament. Devoid of far-sighted statesmanship, patriotism or devotion to the throne, he was destined to ruin the Mughal Empire by pursuing a policy of blind self-aggrandizement. His one thought was how to secure himself in the Delhi Government by raising around himself a ring of dependable clients at Court and in the provinces." He negotiated his alliance with Mahar Holkar and Jayaji Sindhia. Ahmed Shah invited Nasir Jang from Deccan to Delhi; Safdar Jang suspected mischief and posted his Maratha allies in Kota to intercept Nasir Jang. At the same time he sent the following appeal to the Peshwa through Hingane: "This is the time for testing our alliance. If you are truly my friend, then your generals ought to oppose Nasir Jang. I am supplying Hingane with funds for equipping an army (of Marathas) and making all arrange-

ments for fighting Nasir Jang. If the Marathas will not do so, I have 50,000 men under me and shall raise more from all sides." His bold stand and bolder preparations for striking the first blow effectually cowed down the craven Emperor and his eunuch. On April 7, 1749, Ahmed Shah, taking his mother with him, "paid a visit to Safdar Jang in his tents, pacified him by this open sign of humility and promises of friendly support and brought him with himself to the palace. As price of the reconciliation, he signed a farman ordering Nasir Jang to turn back immediately on the receipt of the letter, wherever it might find him, while to soothe his feelings he was formally appointed subedar of the Deccan with the title of Nizam-ud-Doulah."

Safdar Jang also purchased the services of Jats, by granting all concessions that they asked for. In 1752, he got Javid Khan assassinated. The murder of Javid Khan was worse than a crime; it was a political blunder. It antagonised the Emperor and his mother and all the imperial household against Safdar Jang beyond any hope of reconciliation. He encouraged the Sikh risings.

After Javid Khan's death, Safdar Jang restricted admissions to the Emperor's presence as he pleased. Darbars were called but no noble other than Safdar's partisan was allowed to attend.

> "The Emperor keenly resented being reduced to the condition of a captive cut off from free intercourse with society by Safdar Jang's partisans. A dictator, under whom the capital was insulted by a permanent camp of Marathas at its gates, the provinces passed out of the Central Government's control and the royal household officials and troops all starved, was sure to provoke a universal revolt against his unwholesome domination.

> "On 22nd October, 1752, a Maratha force, about 3,500 strong encamped at Talkatora, four miles south-west of Delhi, and another body of 4,000 horse came to the Kalka hillock on 6th February, 1753. The lawful faujdar of Sirhind was driven out by another man, but the Delhi Government took no action against the usurper. The salary of the Emperor's household servants was nearly two years in arrears, but after a month spent in discussion the Treasury could pay their dues for four months only, as the coming of revenue from the crownlands had been stopped by usurpation and disorder. The Court annalist laments, 'From this the condition of the troops and of the nobility can be guessed. None save the vizier had a sufficiency of soldiers. How then could enemies be defeated and the country brought under control? The Empire was totally ruined.... The vizier took away what he liked from the crownlands, so that not a pice reached the Emperor's treasury. This vizier was an impoverisher of his master.'"

Safdar Jang's Atrocities, His Dismissal and Rebellion

The vizier prepared to overawe all by brute force. He instigated Suraj Mal Jat and Rajendra-giri to plunder Old Delhi, especially the grain-market and houses outside the Red Gate of Shah Jehan's new city. This quarter contained no noble's or richman's mansion, but only the homes of middle class and poor men. These were plundered and their families maltreated, through the thoughtless cruelty of Safdar Jang. All who could leave their houses in the Old City flocked within the walls of New Delhi for refuge. Next day (10th May) the Jats spread their devastation to other suburbs, like Sayyidwara, Bijal Masjid. Tarkaganj, and Abdullahnagar (near Jaisinghpura), ruining the humbler people but drawing back where the inhabitants combined and offered resistance or where a few soldiers were present to hearten and guide them. "The Jats plundered up to the gate of the city, lakhs and lakhs were looted, the houses were demolished, and all the suburbs (puras) and Churania and Wakilpura were rendered totally lampless." These ravages were long afterwards remembered by the Delhi populace under the name of Jat-gardi, on a par with the raids of the Marathas and the Afghans.

There could be no compromise with the man who had caused such universal and wanton misery. So, the Emperor dismissed Safdar Jang and appointed Intizam vizier in his place. Safdar Jang replied him by enthroning a lad of unknown birth, popularly believed to be a handsome young eunuch recently purchased by Shuja-ud-Doula, as Padshah under the name of Akbar Adil Shah, declaring him the grandson of Kam Bakhsh, and making himself his vizier.

The contest had now reached a point where the two sides had at last drawn their swords and thrown the scabbards away. The Emperor sent off letters to all sides calling upon the zamindars, feudatory princes, Ruhelas and even noted Jat, Mewati and Gujar robber-chieftains to gather round him against the rebel ex-vizier and the pretender to the throne. Imad and his manager, Aqibat Mahmud, organised the imperial defence.

Safdar was defeated in the civil war that resulted (September 1755).

Ahmed Shah's Murder

A complete estrangement soon took place between the Emperor and his Bakhshi (Commander-in-Chief) Imad and an open conflict between the two soon precipitated the ruin of Ahmed Shah. The Emperor evaded Imad's demand for taking away all his provincial governments from Safdar Jang and turning him into a beggar; he also saved Suraj Mal from destruction by withholding the big guns so pressingly demanded by Imad for helping the Marathas to take Kumbher. The Emperor also pardoned Safdar's two foremost

Hindu officers Raja Lachhmi Narayan and Jugalkishor as early as December 19, 1753, and granted an order for the restoration of their escheated house and property on May 17, 1754. On the top of it he negotiated overthrow of Imad. The exasperated Imad arrested and deposed Ahmed Shah on June 2, 1754, and got him and his mother murdered soon afterwards. Mohammed Aziz-ud-din, a grandson of Bahadur Shah I, was then raised to the throne under the name of Alamgir II and the Emperor adorned for sacrifice. And he fell under the assassin's knife on November 29, 1759.

Disintegration and Ruin of Empire

Lawless Ambition and Anarchy

It is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of the "Grand Mughal." Whatever be their conduct, their fate was commonly the same. A life of pleasure or virtue, of cowardice or bravery, or of indolence or glory alike led them to an untimely grave. Almost every reign is clouded with the same disgusting repetition of treason and murder; and with every succession one scene of vices and misery changed into another scene of vices and misery. Their timidity or vices have only rescued those unworthy emperors from oblivion to condemn them to everlasting infamy. The Maratha allies undermined the imperial structure, but could not overthrow it; Nadir's invasion was the greatest blow, but the Empire survived. The Mughals even registered their last victory in 1748 at Sirhind over Afghans. But the civil war between the rival vizier Safdar Jang of Oudh and Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk in 1753 when the two cities of Delhi were held by the hostile factions and fighting went on in the space between them and the suburbs for six months, paralysed the Empire beyond all hopes of recovery and its chief supporters were irrevocably alienated. The imperial title survived but the imperial power was gone. Even the compromise dictated by the formidable Ahmed Shah Abdali afterwards between Shah Alam, Imad-ul-Mulk and Najib could not heal their old wounds, and eradicate their mutual jealousies and suspicions and unite them to pursue any constructive measure. Every ambitious commander and every desperate subject entertained a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted the government of Delhi. The imbecile emperors had no remedy. If Delhi still survived, it survived with the loss of freedom, of honour and of virtue. The spirit of sedition, indiscipline, and discontent, which flourished unchecked, plunged the country into unheard-of social and political convulsions. "Mean intrigue and treacherous conspiracy were the very breath of the life of the nobles and officers, and violation of plighted word, perfidy and assassination were common occurrences with our rulers of the first half of the eighteenth century."

Political unity was secure only so long as the throne was in strong hands. Shaken by the fratricidal wars, bereft of a strong leader and deprived of the invigorating force of the unperverted

Mughal, political unity could not endure. The "Great Empire" went to pieces. The Provincial Governors, who had been greedily awaiting an opportunity, cut themselves away, erected their own independent governments and secured their respective families in permanent possession of the provinces or districts which they might claim as their own. "Whilst one family appropriated the large territory known as Oudh, a second one the 'Karnatak,' a third 'Bengal' and 'Behar,' the representative of a fourth one established himself in 'Deccan'. " Every day saw more and more the loosening of bonds of unity till one after another all the provinces became severed from the centre. Still worse, the new-born fragment-states were soon torn up by mutual jealousies and plunged into internecine wars for *inter se* supremacy. Besides they, in turn, were equally involved in dynastic dissensions and fratricidal quarrels. Few were able to command and none were willing to obey. The country was swept over by fierce ambition or madness for power. Every man who could gather an army was busy carving out a state for himself and bent on destroying his nearest rivals. Swords were clashed against swords, giants collided with giants and resources were flung against resources. Every new change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. A terrible valour was consumed in mutual ruin and exhaustion. "High individual quality, however, illuminates the confused history of that period. Only men lacked a guiding star of conduct, a motive for ambition other than naked power." "The story of Delhi during those years," observes Percival Spear in his *Twilight of Mughals*, "is not one of weaklings or mountebanks creeping amidst deceit and subterfuge, but of strong men lusting for power. It is a story of men throwing away successively in the heat of that passion everything that could make that power worth having and mutually squandering the resources for which they were all contending. The Nemesis of these men was the Nemesis not of weakness but of strength unallied to principle, not of idealism but of power politics. . . . The 'Time of Trouble is dubbed a degenerate age.' But it is a mistake to suppose that the public stage was filled by weak-kneed or effeminate trifflers. With few exceptions, the actors were vigorous and hardy, brave and warlike. There were brilliant feats of arms, there was stolid endurance and desperate courage. There was energy in abundance, and indeed rather too much of it than too little. It was not a case of anaemic courtiers falling before the onset of northern vigour, but rather of sword clashing upon sword, of fierce men giving and receiving stroke for stroke."

Such was the Muslim India, broken into pieces with lawless independence, involved in a terrible conflagration of tearing rivalries and fratricidal wars, and with its people unanimated by any ideal or principle, which had to face the imperialistic designs of the Eighteenth-Century British Imperialism.

CHAPTER V

INTRIGUES AND FRAUDS

Some Enlivening Events of History—Rise of the British, Devoid of Valour, Heroism or Chivalry—Advent of the British—State of Affairs at Clive's Arrival—Siraj-ud-Doula—Clive, His Character—British Intrigues and frauds—Farce of Plassey and Rape of Bengal—Mir Jaffer, the Contemptible Stooge—Country Lain Waste and Denuded of Its Wealth—Mir Qasim—English Intrigue—Usurpation of Bengal—Bengal Famine—Clive's Nemesis.

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Some Enlivening Events

IN THE changing picture of the empires and of the dynasties of the East, the noble examples, the chivalrous courage and the inspiring morality in the public and domestic transactions of the various warriors, leaders and sovereigns, quite frequently enliven the narrative of history, relieve the reader from a uniform scene of vice and misery, attract his admiration and afford a sufficient instruction for the lesson of mankind:

1. In person and on foot, Abubakr, the first successor of the Prophet Mohammed, accompanied the first day's march of the army of the faithful despatched to Syria; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the Caliph removed their embarrassment by a declaration that those who rode and those who walked in the service

of God were equally meritorious. He called upon the Chiefs, to despise the objects of earthly ambitions; and his instructions which speak the mind of a Muslim of that age leave behind a memorable message for all times.

" 'Remember,' said the successor of the Prophet, 'that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries.' "[1]

2. Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious by a marriage alliance with Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, offered an obstinate resistance to the arms of the Arabs in the siege of Damascus. "The Christian hero affected to despise the enthusiasm of the Arabs, employed the resources of religious superstition to rekindle the dying enthusiasm of the Damascenes and the Greeks. At the principal gate, in the sight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus; and the contending parties were scandalised or edified by a prayer that the Son of God would defend his servants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas, an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the war, embraced her expiring husband. 'Happy,' said she, 'happy art thou, my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God.' Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader."[2]

1. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. V.
2. Ibid.

3. Abdulla (son of Saad) the conqueror of Africa, "at the head of 40,000 Arabs advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sands of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli, a maritime city in which the name, the wealth, and the inhabitants of the province had gradually centred, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary.

"A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut in pieces on the seashore; but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the praefect Gregory to relinquish the labours of the siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action. . . . And during several days the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side: from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horse back, to draw the bow, and to wield the scimitar; and the richness of her arms and apparel were conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with a hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdulla withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

"A noble Arab, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph, had signalised his valour in Egypt, and Zobeir was the first who planted the scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdulla. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forward, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: 'Where,' said he, 'is our general?' 'In his tent.' 'Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?' Abdulla represented with a blush the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman praefect. 'Retort,' said Zobeir, 'on the infidels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold.' To the courage and discretion of Zobeir, the lieutenant of the caliph entrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents,

while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy till the sun was high in the heavens, and the fainting steps of the enemy betrayed their fatigue. At this hour the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The praefect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir: his daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner.

"The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the praefect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected, as a salve, by Zobeir (who coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of God, and that he laboured for a recompense far above the charms of mortal beauty or the riches of this transitory life. A reward congenial to his temper was the honourable commission of announcing to the caliph Othman the success of his arms. The companions, the chiefs, and the people were assembled in the mosch (mosque) of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir; and, as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdulla was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Chaled (Khalid) and Amrou."[1]

4. Mahmud. Of the numerous noble examples of the justice and magnanimity of the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, for want of space, only three are included hereunder:

(*a*) "As he (Mahmud) sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. 'Suspend your clamours,' said Mahmud, 'inform me of his next visit, and ourself in person will judge and punish the offender.' The Sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and, extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and, rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he voured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. 'I had reason to suspect that none, except one of my sons, could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished the lights that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days

1. Gibbon, Vol. V.

without food since the first moment of your complaint."[1]

(*b*) "The Sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the Western Persia; he was disarmed by an epistle of the Sultan's mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son. 'During the life of my husband,' said the artful regent, 'I was ever apprehensive of your ambition; he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more; his sceptre has passed to a woman and a child, and you dare not attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty."[1]

(*c*) Mahmud's famous exploit, the capture of Somnath, has its own unique glory : "The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Diu, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese. It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand villages; two thousand Brahmans were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges; the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Thr.e sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial prcoipice, and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinoge and Delhi; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach their holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled, the sanctuary was profaned, and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos, and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. 'Your reasons,' replied the Sultan, 'are specious and strong; but, never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols.' He repeated his blows, and an immeasurable treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmans."[2]

5. Romanus Diogenes, a soldier of incomparable courage, was with the imperial purple to provide a husband to Queen Eudocia and an emperor to the Roman Empire. About two months after his accession, urged by his pride to drive out the Turks beyond the Euphrates, Romanus, with "an army, more than one hundred thousand men, reinforced by the multitudes of Phrygia and Cappodacia, the

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1. Gibbon, Vol. VI.
2. Ibid.

legions of Macedonia, the squadrons of Bulgaria, the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, and the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans, overran Armenia, a hereditary dominion of the famous Sultan Alp Arslan." On the report of this unprovoked invasion, the Sultan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse. His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their (Greek) principal Generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The Sultan offered fair proposals of retreat; but in these overtures, Romanus supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies, for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his sincerity." Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. Not a Musalman deserted his standard. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and scimitar, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that, "if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial." The valour and superior merit of the Sultan inflicted on the enemy a crushing defeat; and Romanus was seized alive. "The Bazantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl; but they forget to mention," writes Gibbon, "that in this fatal day, the Asiatic provinces of Rome, were irretrievably sacrificed."

"Despoiled of his arms, his jewels and his purple, Romanus spent a dreary and perilous night, on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of meaner barbarians. In the morning he was led to 'Turkish divan and commanded to kiss the ground before the Lord of Asia.' The successor of Constantine 'obeyed' without a murmur. But the Sultan 'instantly, starting from his throne, raised the royal captive from the ground; and, thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of fortune. From the Divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the Sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look of insult escaped from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displayed the freedom of his mind. 'If you are cruel,' said he, 'you

will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom and restore me to my country.' 'And what,' continued the sultan, 'would have been your own behaviour had fortune smiled on your arms?' The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment which prudence and even gratitude should have taught him to suppress. 'Had I vanquished,' he fiercely said, 'I would have inflicted on thy body many a stripe.' The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive, observed that the Christian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared that he would not imitate an example which he condemned."[1]

Instead, "the Sultan entered into a treaty of peace and invested Romanus with a Turkish robe of honour; his nobles and patricians were restored to their sovereign; and after a courteous embrace the great Arslan dismissed Romanus with rich presents and a military guard."

6. "During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son, Malek Shah, was acknowledged as the future Sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the throne was disputed by an uncle, a cousin and a brother. On the eve of the battle with his brother, Malek performed his devotions and as he rose from the ground, asked his Vizir, the famous Nizam, as to what had been the object of his prayer. 'That your arms may be crowned with victory,' was the prudent, and, most probably the sincere, answer of the minister. 'For my part,' replied the generous Malek, 'I implored the Lord of hosts that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems."[2]

7. "Nooruddin Zenghi revived the zeal and simplicity of the first caliphs. Gold and silk were banished from his palace, the use of wine from his dominions; the public revenue was scrupulously applied to the public service; and the frugal household of Nooruddin was maintained from his legitimate share of the spoil which he vested in the purchase of a private estate. His favourite sultana sighed for some female object of expense. 'Alas,' replied the king, 'I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems: these you may take; and these alone can I bestow.' "[3]

8. "In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. On the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners and the Sultan wept over the loss of his bravest Janizaries. The count Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were a grateful trophy of the victory and the Sultan

1. Gibbon, Vol. VI.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

was pressed to expiate with their blood, the blood of his martyrs. But the clemency of Bajazet pronounced that they should live, and agreed to accept a ransom. It was stipulated in the treaty that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the ungenerous restrain was abolished by Bajazet himself. 'I despise,' said he to the heir of Burgundy, 'thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of battle."[1]

9. **Nur Jehan.** (*a*) "Mahabat Khan's rapid rise and his success in suppressing the rebellion of Shah Jehan had excited the jealously of Nur Jehan and her brother, Asaf Khan, the Prime Minister, and at length, the palace intrigue drove him to rebellion. By a bold *coup de main*, he made Jehangir a prisoner on the bank of the river Jhelum, while the emperor was on his way to Kabul. Nur Jehan managed to escape. A council was promptly summoned and a consultation held as to the best method to be pursued for rescuing the sovereign out of his enemy's hands. There was no time to be lost; the moment was critical; delay only diminished the chance of success, as it strengthened the power of the rebel, who was universally popular. It was determined to recross the river with the dawn, and attack Mahabat.

"The bridge over the river had been burnt down by Mahabat; fording the river was practically not possible as the water was very deep, and in this attempt many were drowned. The banks on the opposite side were so steep that those who gained them had to contend with an enemy under great disadvantage. The enemy, too, were vigilant and active and cut them off as fast as they quitted the water. Not a man escaped; the moment he gained the bank, he was slain in attempting to ascend it. The action continued for several hours, and slaughter of the imperial forces was prodigious but still, trusting to their numbers, they continued the struggle under the greatest disadvantages.

"Nur Jehan witnessed the whole scene from the river-bank, and her alarm was excessive at beholding the slaughter of the royal forces. Her resolute spirit was roused, and her determination instantly taken. Mounted upon an elephant—on which was likewise her daughter, a beautiful maiden, in the prime and freshness of youth—and armed with a bow and arrow, she plunged fearlessly into the stream. The Empress was followed by several nobles, who, ashamed at beholding the resolution of a woman, followed her into the river, and made for the further side. Urging her elephant to the middle of the channel, she waived a scarf to encourage the Premier's troops. Undaunted at the carnage before, she stood in the howdah and discharged her

1. Gibbon, Vol. VI.

arrows with fatal aim at the foe. Three mahuts were successively killed; yet she maintained her position, and, having exhausted her quiver, demanded another to be brought. Her elephant was three times wounded, and her situation became extremely dangerous from the violent plunges of the animal under the excitement of suffering. Still she continued to discharge her arrows with fearless determination. Her daughter was at length wounded in the arm, which only stimulated the heroic mother to greater exertions. She urged her elephant forward to the bank, soon exhausted another quiver of arrows, and called for a fresh supply. The sight of her heroism gave an impulse to the wavering courage of her brother's troops, and many effected their landing.

"The battle now became sanguinary in the extreme; but the imperialists gained no ground. In spite of Nur Jehan's presence, they could not overcome the determined resistance of the Rajputs; nevertheless, they fought with a bravery worthy of better success. Nur Jehan having urged her elephant close to the bank, a Rajput gave it a severe wound with his sword, just at the root of the trunk. With a shrill cry the huge animal fell; but whilst it was in the act of falling, Nur Jehan had placed an arrow in the string of her bow, and fixed it in the brain of her foe, who rolled dead upon the plain. When the elephant fell, both mother and daughter were thrown into the stream, and, as the current was rapid, their lives were in jeopardy; but the Empress, seizing her bow with her teeth, swam towards some noblemen, who were crossing to second her heroic exertions. Her daughter was delivered from peril by the enemy and made prisoner. Meanwhile, the mother breasted the current, and with difficulty reached an elephant, upon which a noble was seated, who rescued her from a matchlock that struck her in the side; but it passed round by the rib, and did not enter her body.

"Undismayed by the danger she had just escaped, the Empress continued to discharge her arrows at the enemy, doing considerable execution with her single arm. Mahabat was the chief object of her aim; but he was too far from the bank to enable her to accomplish her fatal purpose. Her danger was becoming every moment more imminent; she nevertheless urged her elephant forward, reckless of personal consequences. She had already exhausted three quivers of arrows, when a fourth was brought to her. At the first discharge she struck a soldier in the body who instantly tore out the shaft from his flesh, and with a fierce resolution of revenge leaped into the stream. He held his sword above the water with one hand, and dashed with the other towards the Sultana's elephant. Already was his arm raised to strike, but before he could accomplish his purpose, another arrow from the heroine's bow was buried in his breast, and he sank beneath the whirling eddies.

"A number of Rajputs now rushed into the river to seize Nur Jehan. They soon surrounded her, but she plied her bow so vigo-

rously that several of them were wounded. A Rajput had ascended the back of her elephant, and commenced a fierce struggle with the nobleman who accompanied his Empress. At this moment, the huge animal, having received a severe wound behind, sprang suddenly forward, and scrambled up the bank. It was immediately despatched. As it fell, Nur Jehan leaped from the howdah. Seizing a sword, she fought with a heroism that astonished even the Rajputs, with whom valour is a heritage. A deep sabre-cut in the shoulder seemed only to add a stimulus to her resolution. The man who had inflicted the wound received from her arm a signal retribution: she dashed her sword into his skull, and he was instantly prostrated among the dead.

"The battle now raged with prodigious fury; but the imperialists were fast giving way. At length the Sultana was left fighting with unabated energy, supported by only a few soldiers. The moment was critical. Two Rajputs advanced to seize her; she saw there was not an instant to be lost, and, rushing to the river's bank, turned her head upon her foes with a haughty expression of defiance, and leaped undauntedly into the torrent. The two soldiers followed, resolved to make her their prisoner or die in the attempt. In spite of her wound, with a resolution which nothing could subdue, she bore up against the rapid current; but, notwithstanding all her exertions, was carried by its force down the stream. She rose buoyantly above the waters and after great exertions landed upon the opposite bank. Her pursuers were, by this time, close upon her. Determined not to be made a prisoner, she prepared for a desperate resistance.

"One of the Rajputs being before the other first gained the shore. The bank was steep; just as he reached the brink, his foot slipped, and he partially fell, but clung to the roots of some wild shrubs that protruded from the earth. The opportunity was not to be lost. Nur Jehan drew a dagger from her girdle, and as the soldier was struggling to regain his footing struck him with all her force upon the temple—his body being protected by the quilted tunic, his face was the only part that she could successfully strike. The blow was dealt with fatal aim; it divided the temporal artery, and the man fell back into the water, deluged in his blood. His companion, who had been carried farther down the stream, gained the bank during this fatal struggle. Overcome by the extraordinary heroism of the Empress, he approached her with a profound salaam, and said, 'Lady, your heroic bearing deserves a better meed than captivity. You are now within my power; but, astonished at the matchless valour you have displayed, I cannot persuade myself to make you prisoner. Promise me a safe conduct back to the army to which I belong, and you are free; refuse me, and I will plunge immediately with you into the stream, where we will both perish together.'

"'Soldier,' replied the Sultana with composed dignity, 'I accept your terms. I promise you a safe conduct to your friends. Your

behaviour is noble, and claims my esteem.' "[1]

(*b*) "Later on when all her attempts to rescue her husband by force failed, Nur Jehan joined him in confinement. Mahabat, feeling that his future safety depended upon the death of Nur Jehan, had sent an assassin to despatch her. The minister of destruction entered her tent after midnight, when she was plunged in profound repose. Her beautiful limbs were stretched upon a Persian carpet, the rich colours of which glowed in the light of a lamp that burned upon a silver frame near her bed. Her fine features were relaxed into that placid expression which sleep casts over the countenance when no disquieting dreams disturb and excite it into muscular activity. The slow and measured breath came from her lovely bosom like incense from a sacred censor. Her right arm, naked to the shoulder, and on which the scar of the wound she had lately received appeared still red and tender, was thrown across her bosom, showing an exquisite roundness of surface and delicacy of outline, that fixed the attention of the rugged soldier, who hesitated to remove so beautiful a barrier to that bosom which his dagger was commissioned to reach. He stood over his victim in mute astonishment. He was entranced by her beauty. The recollection of her undaunted heroism disarmed his purpose, and he dropped the weapon of death. Nur Jehan was roused by the noise;—she startled from her slumber. Seeing a man in the tent, she sprang from her coach, and, eyeing him with calm disdain, said: 'I apprehend your purpose; you are a murderer; Nur Jehan is not unprepared to die even by the assassin's dagger. Strike,' she said sternly, and bared her bosom.

"The man was overcome; he prostrated himself before her, pointed to the fallen weapon, and besought her to forgive the evil purpose with which he had entered her tent: 'I am but an humble instrument of another's will.'

" 'Go,' replied Nur Jehan with dignity, 'and tell your employer that your Empress and his husband know how to meet death when it comes but claims from Him the justice awarded to the meanest criminal. The secret dagger is an instrument of cowardice, neither of bravery nor of justice. I am in his power; but let him exercise that power as becomes a brave and a good man.' "

10. Aurangzeb. (*a*) Once while Emperor Shah Jehan was enjoying an elephant combat from the balcony of the Lahore Fort, the young princes (his sons) witnessed the sport from horseback on the ground. One elephant fleeing from its opponent escaped to the side of the princes. Three of the Emperor's sons, out of excitement, ran away for life while Aurangzeb, a lad hardly fourteen years of age, kept where he was, firm and unruffled. The runaway elephant passed by him, but the pursuing animal, leaving its rival, turned to attack Aurangzeb. The people were thrown into a dreadful fright, but the

1. Robert Counter, *Nur Jehan and Jehangir.*

prince was unfrightened; he boldly charged the wild beast with the spear he had in his hand. A blow from the elephant's trunk, however, hurled the horse down to the ground. But Aurangzeb with an unrivalled presence of mind leaped to the ground in time and seizing the spear at once turned to face the elephant again. By this time, aid reached up and drove away the animal. The affectionate father, in great agitation, descended from the balcony, presented one lakh of rupees as propitiatory offerings (*nisar*) for the safety of the prince and said, "My child, thank God that it has ended well! If (God forbid it) the matter had taken a different turn, what a dishonour would it have been!" Aurangzeb respectfully salaamed and replied, "If it had ended differently there would have been no dishonour in it. The shame lay in what my brothers did."

(*b*) "His was no ordinary courage. That he was physically brave," in the words of Lane-Poole, "is only to say he was a Moghul prince of the old lion-hearted stock. But he was among the bravest even in their valiant rank. In the crisis of the campaign in Balkh, when the enemy 'like locusts and ants' hemmed him in on every side and steel was clashing all around him, the setting sun heralded the hour of evening prayer: Aurangzib, unmoved amid the din of battle, dismounted and bowed himself on the bare ground in the complicated ritual of Islam, as composedly as if he had been performing the rik'a in the mosque at Agra. The king of the Uzbegs who noted the action was so awed by the unparalleled confidence of the prince, that he exclaimed, 'To fight with such a man is to destroy oneself'; and called off his troops."

(*c*) In the war of succession at Samugarh, a very critical moment reached for Aurangzeb, and "the day was going against him. The flower of his cavalry was driven back and he was now standing, with scarcely a thousand men about him, awaiting Dara's onslaught," writes Lane-Poole. "Never was cool courage put to a severer test; but Aurangzib's nerve was steel. 'Dili, Yarana. Take heart, my friends, he cried, Khuda-he! There is a God! What hope have we in flight? Know ye not where is our Deccan? Khuda-he! Khuda-he!' Thereupon he ordered the legs of his elephant to be chained together, to make retreat impossible. The mere order was enough to restore the ebbing courage of the few squadrons that still stood aside him and change the course of the great event."

Rise of British Power

The rise of British power in India forms one of the most outstanding events of the world; but not a single ray of heroism, of chivalry or even vulgar bravery illuminates the dark pages of history that records its progress. On the throne, in the camp, or in the court, in vain, one would search for names, characters or deeds, that would be entitled to the admiration of the world, or deserve to be rescued from oblivion. In vain one would look for a campaign to tempt our curiosity; no siege or battle of any singular difficulty nor a hard-won suc-

cess to warm our hearts; nor an event which could leave behind some moral lesson, to engage our affection India was not won on a battlefield; it fell to the British hands piecemeal as an inevitable consequence of a long series, spreading over century or so, of the wily intrigues initiated by Clive in 1756 and the frauds worked by the "great Englishman" and his successors upon the unsuspecting peoples of this land. No promise nor oaths could bind those "great Englishmen"; nor any treaty or submission could secure peace. Friendship and peace were on their lips while perfidy and aggression were in their hearts. Falsehood and deceit marked their transactions, public or private, and are engraven on the eternal rocks of India. Their own historians are even astonished by the success of their deceptions. The memory of those adventures at best is comparable with that of a man who entered like a thief, exploited like a wolf and expired like a cowardly hypocrite.

The English rule took its birth in the notorious intrigue and fraud of Clive which in 1757 produced the "farce" of Plassey. The so-called "battle of Plassey" was "a farce and not even a skirmish"; but, as a victory, Plassey was in its consequences, perhaps, "the greatest ever gained." "There never was a battle," writes Col. Malleson, "of which the consequences were so vast, so immediate, and so permanent. From the very morrow of the victory the English became virtual masters of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. From the base it gave them, a base resting on the sea, and, with proper care, unassailable, they were able to extend their authority beyond the Indus, their influence amongst peoples of whose existence even Europe was at the time profoundly ignorant. It was Plassey which made England the greatest Muhammadan power in the world; Plassey which forced her to become one of the main factors in the settlement of the burning Eastern question; Plassey which necessitated the conquest and colonization of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Mauritius, the protectorship over Egypt; Plassey which gave to the sons of her middle classes the finest field for the development of their talent and industry the world has ever known; to her aristocracy unrivalled opportunities for the display of administrative power; to her merchants and manufacturers customers whose enormous demands almost compensate for the hostile tariffs of her rivals, and, alas! even of her colonies; to the skilled artisan remunerative employment; to her people generally a noble feeling of pride in the greatness and glory of the Empire of which a little island in the Atlantic is the parent stem, Hindustan the noblest branch; it was Plassey, which, in its consequences, brought consolation to that little island for the loss of America."[1]

Advent of the English

The English united the profession of a merchant and a robber, and they had introduced themselves as such to the inhabitants of

1. Col. G. B. Malleson, *The Decisive Battles of India.*

India. Their cunning arts of flattery and servile efforts from time to time secured them permission from the generosity and munificence of the ruling princes to establish or extend their business in their territories; and during a long course of a century or so, they established themselves as a trading community in this country.

In 1608, the East India Company, by a "most humble" petition to Jehangir, the Mughal Emperor, for permission to establish its factories at Surat, made its first attempt to settle and strike its root in India. The petition was turned down; but the initial failures could not disappoint their hope; their fortune and perseverance, at length, obtained them, in 1613, a *farman* permitting the English to set up a factory at Surat. Soon afterwards, Sir Thomas Rao, the accredited ambassador of the King of England, James I, reached the Mughal Court. Rao's abilities procured further privileges to the Company, and when he left India in February 1619, the English had their factories established at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach. A *farman* known as the "Golden Farman" was obtained in 1632 from the Sultan of Golkunda, which was confirmed in 1634. By this grant, the generosity of the Sultan allowed to the English free trade in the ports belonging to the kingdom of Golkunda. In 1639 Francis Day acquired the lease of Madras from the needy ruler of Chandragiri, representative of the ruined Vijayanagar Empire, and built up there a fortified factory which later on came to be known as Fort St. George and gained the importance as headquarters of the English settlements on the Coromandel Coast.

In the year 1644, Jehanara, the favourite daughter of the reigning Emperor, Shah Jehan, got burnt. Physicians of renown were called from all over the country; the sorrowing father, hearing of the physicians of the English traders at Surat, also sent for one. Gabriel Boughton, the surgeon, was deputed to attend to the bidding of the ruler of India. But the physicians laboured in vain to heal her burns. "Where medical science of the age failed, quackery succeeded. A slave named Arif prepared an ointment which completely cured up her sores." The joyful father rewarded everyone to his satisfaction. Asked to name his own reward, for his inconvenience, the artful Englishman preferred a request for a *Farman* granting permission to the English for trade in Bengal, free of all duties and for establishing factories in that province. The *farman* was immediately granted. The year 1651 offered another opportunity to their fortune in the illness of a royal lady of Prince Shuja. Boughton attended her and gratitude of the Prince demonstrated itself in the establishment of factories at Hugli, agencies at Patna, Kassimbazar, Dhakha, and Balasore and in the grant of the privileges of free trade throughout the provinces of Bengal and Orissa against nominal terms. In 1668, Charles II transferred to the East India Company the island of Bombay, a part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Braganza, received from the Portuguese. In 1672, the Company procured a *farman*

from Shaista Khan, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, granting them exemption from payment of duties, and the Emperor Aurangzeb, by a *farman* in 1680, ordered that none should obstruct the Company's trade and that "of the English Nation, except the demand of their usual custom of 2 per cent for their goods more as pool-money." On a fresh prayer submitted later on, Ibrahim Khan, successor of Shaista Khan in the government of Bengal, under the orders of the Emperor, issued a fresh *farman* in February 1691, "granting the English exemption from payment of customs duties in return for Rs. 3,000 a year." The predatory disturbances of Sobha Singh, a Zamindar in the district of Burdwan, afforded the English, in 1696, a just excuse and they got the permission to fortify their new factory. In 1698 they procured the Zamindari of the three villages of Sutanuti, Kalikata (Kalighata-Calcutta) and Govindapur on payment of Rs. 1,200 to the previous proprietors.

In 1715, with a view to secure further concessions, to extend their commercial activities over Bengal and to improve their fortunes, the Company sent to Delhi an Embassy consisting of two "noble" Englishmen, an Armenian interpreter and a surgeon. As luck would have it for the English, this time the Emperor Furrukh Siyyar was down afflicted with a painful disease and the skill of the English surgeon, Hamilton, soon relieved him of the trouble. After the manner of Shah Jehan, the surgeon was asked to name his reward and at Hamilton's prayer a royal *farman* was issued (1717), confirming all previous grants to the Company, exempting their goods from examination or duty and bestowing upon them the grant of thirty-eight villages above and below Calcutta on both the sides of the river. The *farman* was acclaimed as the "Magna Charta of the Company."

The expansion of the English trade and influence in India during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century was quiet and gradual, and at the time when Clive landed on the soil of Bengal, the East India Company occupied the position of a petty zamindar of the day, possessing administrative powers within its limits of the grant and of a privileged trader enjoying certain privileges of free trade as allowed under Furrukh Siyyar's "*Farman*" Grant.

Political Situation in Bengal

The political situation in Bengal at this time was very distressing and uncertain. The Mughal Empire, humbled with awful dismemberment and afflicted with dreadful factions of the nobles, was tottering on the verge of ruin. Destiny had granted Mohammed Shah a long reign, but, "in utter unconcern, he let the affairs drift in their own way and the consequence was most fatal." Province after province—the Deccan, Oudh, Karnatic and Bengal—slipped away from the imperial control; the Marathas established their power far and wide in Central and Western India; the Jats set up almost an independent principality near Agra; the Ruhila Afghans founded their state of Ruhilkhund in the North Gangetic plain; the Sikhs became active

in the Punjab; and over and above, the invasion of Nadir Shah delivered a staggering blow. The distracted (Mughal) Empire was powerless to oppose the progress or prevent the havocs of the disintegrating ambitions and of alarming disorders. Within about four decades of Aurangzeb's death, the great Mughal Empire broke up into pieces, mutually hostile and zealously engaged in mutual destruction, and at length shrank to a small district round Delhi.

The private ambition, let loose from the salutary influence of the centre, was equally insensible to the public danger; and in the vicissitudes of their fortunes, the fragments or royal vassals were ignorant or regardless of the object of their allegiance. Ahmed Shah was deposed and blinded in 1734 and then done to death by the vizier Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, who now imitated the "graceful example" of the Sayyid Brothers in playing the role of a king-maker. Alamgir II was then raised to the throne—but only to follow his predecessor to the grave. The malignant hostility of this ambitious and unscrupulous vizier drove out Shah Alam II, the son and successor of Alamgir II, a wanderer from place to place. The rapid transportation of princes from obscure.confinement to the throne and from the throne to the grave destroyed all hope of survival of the decayed Empire.

Bengal, like other powerful fragments of the great Empire, was, then, ruled by a hereditary subedar who nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi, but was independent to all intents and purposes. Frictions and intrigues in course of time sapped the political stability of the province. In 1740, Aliverdi Khan, a rebel, by a successful revolution seized the throne of Bengal; but Delhi, crushed by Nadir's invasion (February 1739) as yet lay prostrate groaning under the wounds of the great calamity and was unable to hear the din of a provincial revolution ; and an action so criminal was suffered to pass unnoticed and with impunity.

Aliverdi Khan was a strong and capable ruler. But his masculine virtues failed to provide the throne with a male heir; the fruit of his conjugal labours was only three daughters who were married to three sons of his brother. The husbands of the first two daughters were appointed by the paternal affection as governors respectively of Dacca and Purnea, while Siraj-ud-Doula, the son of the youngest daughter, a boy hardly of seventeen, was chosen and acknowledged as the successor of the Nawab. The two sons-in-law died towards the close of Aliverdi's reign; yet on the Khan's death (April 9, 1756), the inheritance was disputed by a widowed aunt, Ghasiti Begum, and cousin, Shaukat Jang, son of the other sister.

The contest excited the interest of the English, like other venal flatterers who thrived by the weakness or discord of the princes. The chance of the young Siraj-ud-Doula appeared doubtful; while the experience of the veteran Raj-Ballabh, the chief manoeuvrer of Ghasiti Begum, assured that every sword in the province would be

drawn for her service. The English as other sycophants hastened to court and engage the inclination of Raj-Ballabh; so certain appeared the success of Ghasiti Begum that the English, disdaining to apprehend the young Nawab's resentment, offered and afforded protection to Raj-Ballabh's son Krishandas who had fled to Calcutta with public treasures; and when Siraj-ud-Doula asked for surrender of Raj-Ballabh's family, his demand was refused with scant respect by the English governor. It was also widely circulated in Murshidabad that the English espoused the cause of Ghasiti Begum. But the English agent, Dr. Forth, attached to the factory of Kassimbazar, who visited Aliverdi about a fortnight before his death, "not only denied the charge as baseless but also disavowed on behalf of his nation any intention to interfere in the Indian politics." Vigilence of the Prince, however, saved Bengal from the sinister designs of Raj-Ballabh. "A well-designed stratagem" delivered Ghasiti Begum into Siraj-ud-Doula's hands; and the Prince escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict and yet acquired the advantages of a complete victory.

During the last illness of Aliverdi, the English had built up additional fortifications without the permission and knowledge of the Nawab and mounted guns on the old fort. Siraj-ud-Doula, immediately after his accession to the throne, pointed out to Watts, the chief of the factory at Kassimbazar, that he looked upon the English "only as a set of merchants and they were welcome as such, but he disapproved of their recent fortifications and insisted on their immediate demolition." The English tendered apologies for their provoking conduct in the past, offered "implicit loyalty" for future but did not remove the fortifications. The hollow promises could not satisfy the Nawab. He wrote another letter to Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, repeating his orders to demolish the additional fortifications and fearlessly marched towards Purnea, to meet his rival, Shaukat Jang. At Rajmahal he was delivered Drake's reply which was couched in a servile language, but contained no indication that the English would comply with the Nawab's demand. Meanwhile the English had now pinned their hopes on Shaukat Jang and, "hoping that he would defeat Siraj-ud-Doula," sent to him presents and engaged their loyalty to his cause. Drake's letter added fuel to the fire and convinced the Nawab that the heinous conduct of the English held out, for the time being, more danger than Shaukat's moves and demanded immediate exercise of his arms. The letter changed his decision. Once having taken the decision, Siraj-ud-Doula acted with startling energy. He immediately returned from Rajmahal, reached Murshidabad on 1st June, and on 4th June seized the English factory at Kassimbazar. Calcutta was stormed on June 16; Governor Drake, with his Englishmen, "abandoned the fort to its fate and sought their own safety on board the ships"; Fort William surrendered after an ineffectual resistance on June 20. The English now lay beaten and prostrate.

Shaukat Jang had in the meantime procured from the titular

Mughal Emperor of Delhi the formal *Sanad* for the subedariship of Bengal and his hopes were further encouraged by the secret help from the English and from certain disaffected chiefs. The seriousness of the situation demanded quick action; and the ability of the prince was equal to the occasion. He placed Manikchand, a general of "approved fidelity," in charge of Calcutta and undertook the expedition against the remaining rival. Shaukat Jang was defeated and killed and Siraj-ud-Doula was now left the sole master of Bengal.

The people admired a hero who, in spite of his inexperienced youth, had vanquished three powerful enemies within a few months and acquired the undisputed possession of Bengal. The English were offended by his virtues; they considered the friend of the people as the enemy of foreign exploiters. As long as the success of Siraj-ud-Doula was uncertain, the buffoons of the English nation, who were skilled in the arts of satire and flattery, tried the efficacy of those arts; the epithets of a "babe," a "suckling" "invested with purple," were applied to the person of the prince; and his modest despatches were stigmatised as "vain freaks of an urchin"; while his rivals were flattered with "all virtues," and "unequalled" statecraft. The voice of the malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory; and the master of Bengal could no longer be painted as an object of contempt. He was now an object of terror. They had already experienced and now dreaded his arms. Their fears were interpreted by the fervent prayers they made to the clemency of the Nawab for pardon and restoration of their trading privileges and concessions.

The perfidious English now sought to retrieve their position by deceitful prayers addressed to Siraj-ud-Doula on the one hand and on the other by seducing the loyalty of his officers to their cause. After having been beaten out of Calcutta, the British had taken refuge in Fulta, and, from this place, they spread a network of intrigue; their money, presents and promises corrupted the fidelity of Manikchand—the Nawab's officer in charge of Calcutta, and engaged to their cause the venal services of the infamous bania Aminchand of Calcutta, of the notorious bania Jagat Seth and, through them, of various other leading men of the Nawab's court. The result was a great success: the prudence or mercy of the Nawab was effectively persuaded by the treacherous advisers and the English obtained an easy pardon of their guilt.

Watson and Clive arrived at Fulta with their "mock force" from Madras on December 15, 1756. On December 26, 1756, Clive marched towards Calcutta and the prearranged betrayal of Manikchand, delivered Calcutta into the hands of Clive. Hugli was plundered magnificent houses were consumed by the flames; the district which was plentifully stored with corn and cattle severely felt the ravages of the English atrocities; and Clive avenged the supposed guilt of the Nawab's officers by promiscuous slaughter of the innocent and

defenceless population. But in spite of these provocations, Siraj-ud-Doula stood by his word and concluded the "Treaty of Alinagar" (February 9, 1757), granting to the English practically all their privileges. This pacific attitude of the Prince, offering such a strange contrast to his earlier policy, is not difficult to explain. The treacherous advice of his advisers had been corrupted by the English money, the apprehension of an invasion from the north-west and the fear of Maratha predatory incursions were sufficient factors to induce the Prince to grant peace to the ignoble English who could be crushed at any time. Above all, he had already pardoned the English as conveyed to them in his letters, before he reached Calcutta; and the Indian Prince could not easily break his pledge.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War (between England and France) introduced a new element into the situation. The English decided to capture the French possession of Chandernagore. When approached for permission for that aggression, Siraj-ud-Doula very reasonably argued that he could never allow one section of his subjects to be molested by another; he accused the English of violating the "Treaty of Alinagar" and declared his determination never to sacrifice the French. But Clive and Watson were equally confident of the success of their intrigue, determined to crush their western rivals. The loyalty of Nanda Kumar, the Faujdar (Commander) of Hugli, was bribed and, by his perfidy, the defenceless Chandernagore—the French city—fell to the "British arms." "It is admitted by the English themselves that the Nawab had a large force under the Faujdar of Hugli and if he had not moved away, they could never have 'conquered' the French city."

The Nawab gallantly afforded shelter to the French fugitives at his court and, despite the efforts of Seth Jagat, Aminchand and other supporters of the English, he rejected with disdain the English offer of "military help" against a threatened invasion of Bengal by the heir apparent to the Mughal Empire only if he withdrew his protection from the French. Generosity and prudence alike must have dictated the course of policy which the Nawab pursued. The English now awaited fearful reprisals for their wicked provocation and spared no means and ways to avert the impending justice of Siraj-ud-Doula; but it could not be satisfied with any amount of flattery, presents, hypocritical promises and treasonable pressures. He promptly despatched his army to Palasi (Plassey), a town in the area of Kassambazar. The prompt action of the Nawab and the location of his forces at Palasi alarmed the Calcutta Council which had already felt the arms of the young prince. There was now little to hope from his clemency or compassion; the terror-stricken Calcutta trembled; and a decision to abandon was embraced as the only means of escape. Just then, the English Ulyssis, as a matter of "taking a chance," attempted a deceit; and the situation and character of the inexperienced Prince both could admit the exercise of a fraud. Siraj-ud-Doula was insen-

sibly drawn into the snares of an artful negotiation. Clive had a letter forged, purporting to have been addressed by the Maratha chieftain of Berar and containing a proposal that he should march with 120,000 men into Bengal and cooperate with the English against the Nawab. The forged document was delivered as a genuine letter to Siraj-ud-Doula, with loud and servile acclamations "of British loyalty" to him and with prayers that he should recall his army to attend in time to the Maratha danger. "The Nawab was completely taken in," writes Malleson. "He recalled his army to Murshidabad. For the first time he believed in the friendly protestations of the English."

Meanwhile, through the agency of Amichand, the bania, possessed of unbounded cunning and absolutely without a conscience, "the capabilities of the English cunning bribed and purchased the loyalty of the Nawab's Prime Minister Dulab Ram, seduced the attachment and tempted the ambition of Mir Jaffer, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal army, to seize the throne for himself, and spun up the threads of a deep conspiracy to overthrow the young ruler." "At that very time," when the Nawab received the forged letter and "believed in the friendly protestations of the English," writes Malleson, "never had he less cause to believe them. At that very time the Seths, the great financers of Murshidabad, were committed against their native ruler; Mir Jaffer had been gained over by the English; the Dewan, Raja Dulab Ram, was a party to the same compact. The bargain with the two latter had been drawn up, and only awaited signature."

The English fully understood the danger of the situation, the consequences of their deceitful and wicked protestations and of the big fraud of their great forgery. Their hope now rested on only intriguing up of a situation which could replace the strong Siraj-ud-Doula by a Nawab favourably disposed towards them. With the progress of time, their arts and their intrigues firmly engaged the ambition of the Commander-in-Chief to a conspiracy and it was decided by the conspirators to raise Mir Jaffer to the throne of Bengal. A regular treaty was drawn up (June 10) which stipulated, among other things, the "reward" to be given to the Company and to their chief servants in Calcutta for their "military help" and Dulab Ram, the Prime Minister, among other things, was to be paid five per cent on all the disbursements whatever from the Bengal Treasury, as his share of the booty. A difficulty arose at the last moment. Amichand, who had acted as the pander, asked for a large share of the plunder and for his name to be inserted in the treaty as a guarantee for payment of his share by the other conspirators. But the shrewdness of the hireling was no match to Clive's cunning. The mercenary bania was easily silenced by a forged copy of the treaty in which Amichand's demands were included. Watson refused to sign the forged document but Clive had had Watson's signatures also forged on it.

Clive

The main actor in the perfidious drama was Clive, a man of obscure birth. The fact that at the tender age of two years, he was sent to the care of Bayley, the husband of his mother's sister, had given room to the aspersion of his enemies; and, if we credit the scandal of his opponents, the founder of the British power in India sprang from the illegitimate commerce of his mother with Mr. Bayley. A fruit of conjugal betrayal could inherit no dignity. But the injury, supposed or real, of the afflicted husband is understandable as disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity had been the outstanding character of the British nation. The Byzantine historian, Laonicus Chalco Condyles, who recorded a rude picture of England as observed on his visit with the Roman Emperor, Manuel (1463), writes: "In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce and its inevitable consequences."[1] His birth had thus embellished Clive with the blackest mind and the basest disposition; no laws could bind him and no scruple could resist; and, though proudest of men, the great Englishman could always stoop to the meanest arts of dissimulation and deceit.

Clive was not the first Englishman who cast a covetous eye on India and entertained the ambition of interfering in or dominating the Indian politics. As early as 1683, Gerald Aungier, the English President at Surat and Governor of Bombay since 1669, wrote to the Court of Directors that "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands." In the course of a few years the Directors approved of "this change" in the Company's policy and wrote to their Chief at Madras in Decembre 1687 "to establish such a politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to secure both. . . . as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all times to come." The new approach was symbolised by the use of high-sounding titles for their officials in India—"such as the appointment of the senior Bombay representative as Captain-General, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces." Sir Josiah Child, the dominant personality in the affairs of the Company, then, ordered (1686) Job Charnock in Bengal to seize Chittagong. Hugli was sacked and the Mughal fortifications at Balasore were stormed. But unfortunately for Charnock, this was the period when Shaista Khan was the Governor of Bengal, and Aurangzeb the Emperor of India. The Mughal was too firm to allow bribe to breed perfidy; and his arm too strong to permit intrigue to flourish. So smashing was the punishment that the English were literally wiped out of

1. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. VI, Chap. LXVI.

Bengal. The English agent, with great difficulty, escaped with bare life to a fever-stricken island, down the river, and from there tendered apology, bewailed and cursed his foolishness and begged pardon for the royal clemency. But the hopes of Child yet remained unaffected and in the next year a fresh naval force was sent from London, under Commander William Heath, with the same orders "to seize Chittagong." This robber fearlessly insulted the imperial waters; but soon his courage was chilled by an annihilating blow; flight was left the only means of his safety and he flew untraceable. At the same time in December 1688, Josiah's brother Sir John, blockaded Bomaby and the Mughal ports on the western coast, seized some Mughal vessels and sent his robber-gangs to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf "to arrest the pilgrimage traffic to Mecca." But here too fortune refused favour to the English; they met with complete disaster and were faced with a total extirpation, when Sir John Child (January 1690) most abjectly submitted himself to the royal compassion and prayed to the generosity of Aurangzeb for pardon. He offered to pay compensation and gave an undertaking on behalf of his nation to behave properly in future. Liberality of Aurangzeb imposed a nominal fine and resurrected the dead English. But the ungrateful nation has ever misrepresented their benefactor, forgotten his kindness but maliciously remembered his just punishment; veiled their own sins and provocations but accused his measures of defence.

The ambition of the Company was thus buried with disgrace into the grave.

Farce of Plassey

But Clive was lucky; he had no "Shaista Khan" to meet; instead there was a junta of traitors, pining for a situation to try their luck at perfidy. There was the black-hearted hypocrite Dulab Ram (Prime Minister) who would betray his master at the first opportunity. There was the treacherous Mir Jaffer (commander-in-chief of the army), out to overthrow his nephew and strike his chance. Again there was the notorious pelf-ṣlave, Amichand the Bania, prepared to serve an instrument for weaving the fabric of intrigue and treason. And above all there was no Aurangzeb; Clive's only rival and the only person he was to face was Siraj-ud-Doula, a lad who had not yet seen eighteen summers, too young to smell treachery or suspect a conspiracy, too unripe to discriminate between a foe and a friend and too inexperienced to understand his wicked opponent and the "friendly protestations" of the English. "Imagine this boy, for he had not yet seen twenty summers, raised in the purple, ..." writes Malleson, "set to play the game of empire against one of the coolest and most calculating warriors of the day, a man perfectly comprehending the end at which he was aiming, who had mastered the character of his rival and of the men by whom that rival was surrounded, who was as bold and decided as his rival was wavering and ready to proceed from one extreme to another. But this does not represent the whole situation.

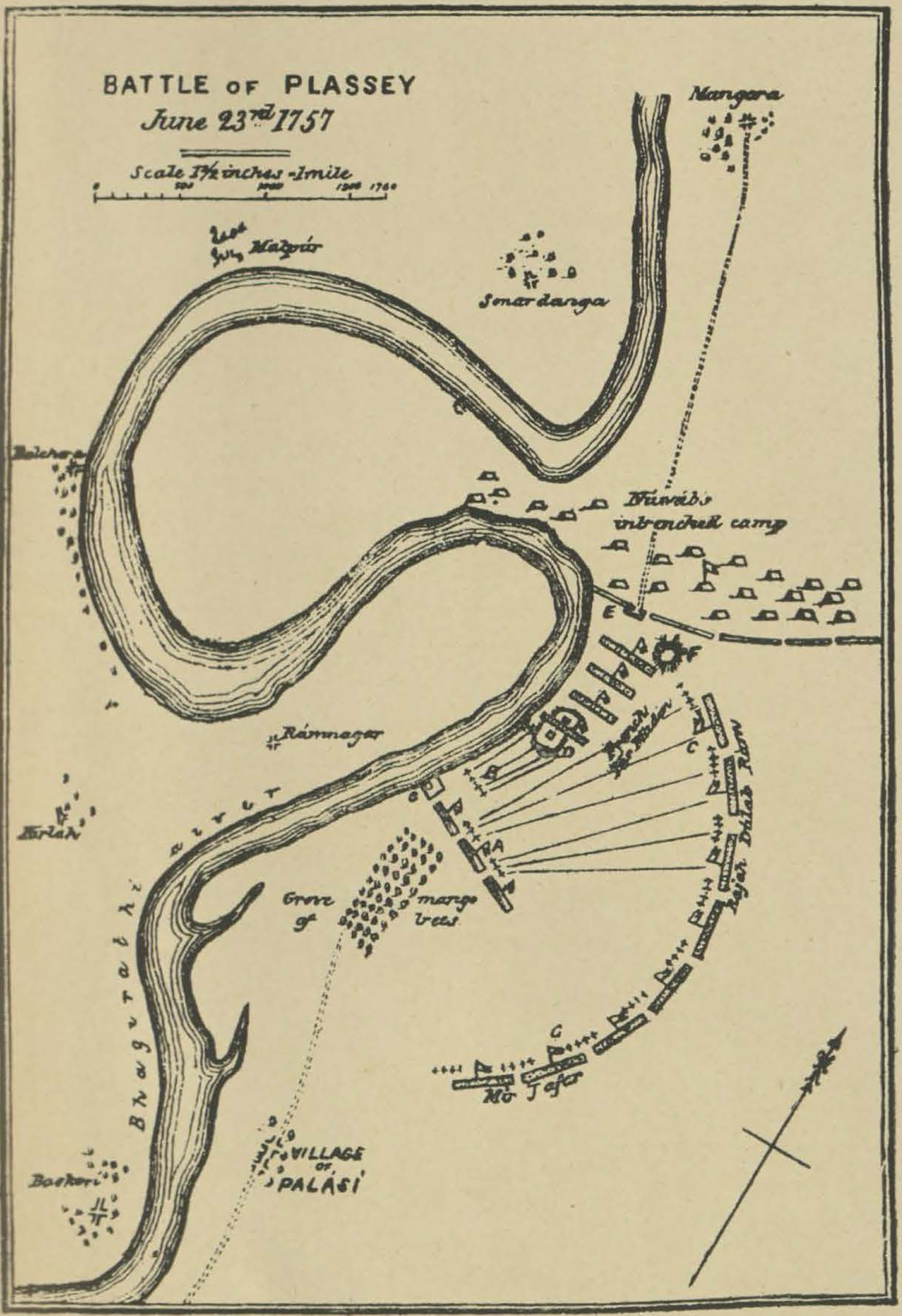
The boy so unevenly pitted against the Englishman was further handicapped by a constant dread of invasion by the Afghans from the north and by the Marathas from the west. He was afraid, therefore, to put out all his strength to crush the English, lest he should be assailed on his flank or on his rear. . . . But he was more heavily handicapped still. I have said that his rival was restrained by no scruples. The truth of this remark is borne out by the fact that whilst the unhappy boy Nawab was the sport of the passion to which the event of the moment gave mastery in his breast, the Englishman was engaged slowly, persistently and continuously in undermining his position in his own court, in seducing his generals, and in corrupting his courtiers. When the actual contest came, though individuals here and there were faithful, there was not a single great interest in Murshidabad which was not pledged to support the cause of the foreigner."

The treaty between the conspirators, by this time, had reached Calcutta, signed and sealed. The English hirelings were now instructed to divulge the deceit (of Maratha letter) practised upon the young prince. Siraj-ud-Doula flew to unbounded rage and, with the boldness of a warrior and with the spirit of a hero, he at once determined to instruct a lesson to the deceitful nation, and hastened with his army to Calcutta. Clive had now no further reason for temporising. He threw off the mask of loyalty and, as pre-planned, marched from Chandranagar (June 13) with his "mock army" to meet the Bengal forces. "So thoroughly did treachery pervade all ranks of the Nawab's army," says Col. Malleson, "that little or no opposition was offered to the English even by the garrisons at Hugli or Katwah." On the night of June 22, Clive reached the mango grove of Plassey, on the bank of the Bhagirathi where the young prince had already arrived.

The army of Siraj-ud-Doula comprised 35,000 infantry, 15,000 excellent cavalry of fierce Pathans, and fifty-three pieces of artillery mostly of heavy calibre manned by fifty well-trained Frenchmen animated by a very bitter feeling against the Englishmen who had despoiled their flourishing settlements. While Clive had a force of 950 European infantry, 100 European artillery, 50 English sailors, 2,100 native troops and 8 pieces of 6-pounders. The Nawab's army, thus far strong in numbers, occupied likewise a strong position (a glance at the map would show). The English could not attack without exposing themselves to a flank attack. "In fact," writes Col. Malleson, "they (the Englishmen) were almost surrounded and unless treason had played her part they had been doomed."[1] If Jaffer had been faithful to his oath of allegiance, Clive and his men would have been crushed in the "mock-play" and India would have prevented a revolution which eventually inflicted the galling yoke of British Imperialism on the various countries and the various nations of the world.

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1. Col. G.B. Malleson, *The Decisive Battles of India.*



REFERENCE

A Position of the British army at eight in the morning.
B Guns advanced to check the fire of the French.
C Nawab's army in three divisions.
D The tank occupied up to 3 p. m. by the French supported in their rear by Muidin Khan.
EF The redoubt and mound taken at half past four o'clock.
G The Nawab's hunting-box.

On the morning of June 23, at 8 a.m., the French under St. Frais on the Nawab's side started fire. Mir Jaffer and Dulab Ram stood still with their large armies as mere spectators and only a small force under Mir Muidin and Mohanlal, backed by a French officer, took part in the engagement. "Had Mir Jafar been loyal to the Nawab not one among the English forces could have survived to relate the story of the disaster," says Malleson. Even the small advance party under Mir Muidin made the situation so dangerous and critical for the English that within half an hour Clive lost the hope of even a safe flight and leaving 30 dead withdrew his forces behind the mango grove. At eleven o'clock he called his war council and it was decided to retreat under cover of night. Three hours rolled by, but the frightened English could not be tempted to move out from their shelter. The brave Mir Muidin, growing impatient of the dull situation, boldly rushed forward with a body of horse for a speedy and decisive action. Jaffer saw his hope frustrated if Muidin delivered his fierce attack; at once a treacherous firing shot dead the faithful general. Siraj-ud-Doula was sorely shocked to find that he had been betrayed, abandoned and devoted to destruction by those who were bound to assist him by every tie of honour and fidelity. Unexpected perfidy of the commander-in-chief unnerved Siraj-ud-Doula; but, still gathering his courage, the young Prince sent for the traitor who justified his perfidy by the plea of firing at the enemy and condemned the rashness of Muidin. Siraj-ud-Doula, with a most pathetic appeal, begged of Jaffer to stand by his oath of allegiance; and the traitor crossed his hands on his breast and bowing over them with abject servility confirmed his faith and loyalty with all apparent sincerity, and advised the young master to recall even the small body of the troops who were fighting for him. "When he made that gesture and when he uttered those words," writes Malleson, "he was lying. Never had he been more firmly resolved than at that moment to betray his master. Quitting the presence of the Nawab, he galloped back to his troops and despatched a letter to Clive, informing of what had happened and urging him to come out immediately."

But Mir Jaffer was not the only traitor. Scarcely had Mir Jaffer left him, the Nawab turned to the commander of his right wing, Dulab Ram. "The counsel which this man—likewise one of the conspirators—gave him," writes Malleson, "was of a most insidious character." Playing upon the young ruler's fears, the traitor continually urged him "to issue orders to the army to retire behind the entrenchments; this order issued, he should quit the field and leave the result in confidence to his generals." The situation was now out of his control; the inexperienced youth, incapable at such a moment of thinking clearly, perforce followed the insidious advice, issued the withdrawal order to his advancing troops and, mounting a camel, rode back to Murshidabad.

The treachery was done; and the treason played its part. The

traitor-generals were now masters of the situation. Messengers were at once sent to invite Clive to come up. The "gallant and brave" Englishmen, however, wavered and feared to leave their shelter; it was only after the Nawab's army had retired that they took courage to emerge out of the mango grove; and it was only thereafter that he advanced forward, received the greetings from Jaffer, and "won" the "great battle" of Plassey.

Was it a battle, a fair fight? Who can doubt that if the principal generals of Siraj-ud-Doula had been faithful to him, history would have been written differently! Up to the time of the death of Muidin Khan the "gallant" Englishmen could make no impression; they had even been forced to retire and could not dare to come out of their shelter. "It was only when treason had done her work, when treason had driven the Nawab from the field, when treason had removed his army from its commanding position," writes Col. Malleson, "that Clive was able to emerge out from his shelter without the certainty of being annihilated." Even then Clive "paused and paused for long," before he could venture to advance for he knew, "if Jafar had changed his mind and failed to betray, none among his troops would escape to tell the tale of what would befall them."

The misfortune of a single day overturned the throne which had been reared by the incessant labour and struggle of ages. "If the people of India do indeed writhe under the sway of their foreign conquerors," writes Malleson, "they have to thank this Mir Jafar Khan, this man who sold their three richest provinces to the English that he might enjoy the mere pageantry of royalty. No unbiassed Englishman, sitting in judgment on the events which passed in the interval between February 9 and June 23, can deny that the name of Siraj-ud-Daula stands higher in the scale of honour than does the name of Clive. He was the only one of the principal actors in that tragic drama who did not attempt to deceive!"

Mir Jaffer was proclaimed Subedar of Bengal; and in a few days the capture and murder of Siraj-ud-Doula brought the treacherous conspiracy to a triumphant conclusion.

The spoils of the rape of Bengal were, in terms of the conspiracy, shared by the conspirators in the following manner:

> "It had been arranged that whilst Mir Jafar should be proclaimed Subahdar of the three provinces, he should confirm to the English all the advantages ceded by Siraj-ud-Daula in the preceding February; should grant to the Company all the lands lying to the south of Calcutta, together with a strip of ground, 600 yards wide, all round the outside of the Maratha Ditch; should cede all the French factories and establishments in the province; should pledge himself that neither he nor his successors in the office of Subahdar should erect fortifications below the town of Hugli; whilst he and they should give to, and require from, the English support in case of

hostilities from any quarter. Mir Jafar covenanted likewise to make very large payments to the Company and others under the name of restitution for the damages they had suffered since the first attack on Calcutta; others also under the title of gratification for services to be rendered in placing him on the masnad. In the former category were reckoned one karor, or ten millions, of rupees to be paid to the Company; ten lakhs to the native inhabitants of Calcutta, seven lakhs to the Armenians. Under the second head payments were to be made to the army, the squadron, and the members of the Special Committee of Calcutta, to the extent noted below.

"The Squadron was to receive 2,500,000 rupees; the Army, the same; Mr. Drake, Governor of Calcutta (the same who had quitted Calcutta and his companions to take shelter on board ship at the time of Siraj-ud-Daula's attack), 280,000, Colonel Clive, as second in the Select Committee (appointed before the war to negotiate with Mir Jafar), 280,000; Major Kilpatrick, Mr. Watts, and Mr. Becher as members of the said Committee, 240,000 each. I may here state in anticipation that, in addition to these sums, the following private donations were subsequently given, viz. to Clive, 1,600,000 rupees; to Watts, 3,000,000; to the six members of Council, 100,000 each; to Madras troops, 500,000; to Scrafton, 200,000; to Lushington, 50,000; to Major A. Grant, commanding the detachment of H.M.'s 39th Regiment, 100,000."

But the avarice of Clive and his Calcutta Council could not be restrained by the terms of the Treaty; it increased with the passage of time and with the discovery of the ever-yielding nature of the victim. An endless string of vessels laden with rich spoil and Indian produce began to sail for England, and the richest of the provinces of India was drained to dregs.

As regards the government of the country, there was no apparent change. The sovereignty of the English over Calcutta was recognised, and they secured the right of keeping a Resident at the Nawab's court. Save for these minor changes, the position of Mir Jaffer differed, in theory, but little from that of Siraj-ud-Doula. In practice, however, the supreme control of affairs had passed into the hands of Clive. The nerveless traitor was destitute of the ability to meet the situation, face the intrigues of Clive and run the administration. Conscious of his guilt and fearful of public contempt and hatred, the effete Jaffer chose to depend upon the guidance and support of the British exploiters for maintaining his newly acquired position.

Clive fixed, in the bosom of Bengal, Dulab Ram as the Finance Minister and Ram Narayan as the Governor of Bihar—the two hirelings with instructions to permit no internal security. The extor-

tion of Clive and members of the Calcutta Council and employees of the Company exhausted the public treasure; but their multiplying claims could not be satisfied. The houses of the nobility were despoiled, and slaughter was legalised to extort information of and unearth the hidden treasures to meet the Company's demands; and yet there was no peace for the wretched Jaffer and no end to his embarrassment. He was besieged by the Company's ever-mounting money-demands, arrears of pay of his own troops, creditors' claims. The outcome was dreadful. Even the fellow-conspirator, Dulab Ram, the Finance Minister, who, under the terms of the conspiracy, had been given a right to appropriate five per cent on all payments made by the treasury, retired in dudgeon to his own palace, refused all intercourse with Jaffer and at the "noble advice" from Clive summoned his men to rise in arms. The Raja of Purniah and the Governor of Bihar went into rebellion. The public resentment knew no bounds. The disaffection reached even the distant city of Dhaka, where the son of Sarfaraz, the representative of the ancient family ruling in Bengal, lived in retirement and hope. This was exactly the situation that had been planned, intended and expected all along, by the master-intriguer—Clive. The distress of the imbecile traitor advised him and also left him with no alternative other than to invite the English assistance; and the invitation was most welcomed by Clive.

"To purchase English aid," Jaffer "mortgaged the resources of the State. The assessments which were imposed to pay off that mortgage alienated many of his most influential followers and turned against him the hearts of his people. In spite of himself, he was forced, on every emergency, to call in the aid of the English. He had to invoke that aid first against his people, then against some of his nobles, and finally against an attack from the north. Of course he had to pay for it. New trading advantages, new concessions, new transfers of land followed each transaction."[1] The traitor was reduced utterly dependent upon the English who "*de facto* carried on the native rule leaving to the Subahdar the initiative and the semblence of power but no power." In the words of Col. Malleson, "That battle had given the new Nawab bound hand and foot into the hands of the English. They were henceforth his masters. Mir Jafar was in all external affairs but a pageant ruler." The English influence, gradually but steadily progressing, became paramount throughout the province, and "in vain did Mir Jafar struggle against the yoke he had imposed upon himself."

Little did the traitor know, little even "did he reck, the price he would have to pay. Fortunately for his peace of mind at the moment, the future was mercifully hidden from him." But those who are familiar with the history of Bengal will admit that never did treason

1. Col. G.B. Malleson, *The Decisive Battles of India.*

so surely find its own punishment as did the treason of Mir Jaffer.

Jaffer's failure to satisfy the ever-increasing money-demands of the Company, its employees and the Calcutta Council, in due course, rendered him undesirable to the "Honourable" Englishmen. The Calcutta Council nursed up another intrigue with Mir Qasim, Jaffer's son-in-law (September 1760). The English offered to recognise him as the Subedar and guarantee his succession to the throne; and in return Mir Qasim was required to pay off the outstanding dues to the Company and also to cede to the Company the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. Mir Qasim accepted the terms and was proclaimed and recognised as the rightful subedar of Bengal; and the courageless Mir Jaffer quietly abdicated. Besides the terms, of this new conspiracy, Mir Qasim agreed to pay and paid, as the price of or bribe for his installation, to the members of the Council as follows:

> "To Mr. Vansittart, five hundred thousand rupees; to Mr. Holwell, two hundred and seventy thousand; to Messrs. Sumner and MacGuire, each two hundred and fifty-five thousand; to Colonel Caillaud, two hundred thousand; to Mr. Culling Smith and to Captain Yorke, one hundred and thirty-four thousand each. He pledged himself likewise to advance five hundred thousand rupees on loan to the Company for the expenses of the war on the coast."[1]

Mir Qasim found the treasury of Murshidabad exhausted; the accounts in a state of inextricable confusion; and the demands upon him were most harsh and pressing. He had, above all things, to satisfy his own army, then greatly in arrears; to pay the English troops engaged at Patna in showing front to prince Shah Alam and to furnish the English with at least a respectable portion of the promised repayment of loan. To the alarming surprise of the exploiters, he displayed a unique energy and a great force of character and rose equal to the occasion. He made the dishonest Brahmanic financiers, "who had fattened on the absence of control in the time of his predecessor," to discharge their ill-gotten gains, dismissed the corrupt officials and introduced a simple but rigorous system into the treasury department. His ceaseless labours and vigorous attention were rewarded with good revenues, and enabled him in a very brief period to pay his own and the English troops, and to remit to Calcutta half the promised subsidy.

Mir Qasim, as Col. Malleson observes, "was a man of a stamp very different to that of his father-in law. The pliant disposition which had caused the latter to bend on every decisive occassion to the will of his European masters did not belong to his nature. He had from the very first resolved to be master in his own house. He had used the English to procure him power; but he never trusted them as Mir

1. Broome, *History of India* the Bengal Army.

Jafar had trusted them. In a short time he came to hate them with all the intensity of bitter and brooding hatred. He had full reason to do so, for the annals of no nation contain records of conduct more unworthy, more mean, and more disgraceful, than that which characterised the English Government of Calcutta during the three years which followed the removal of Mir Jafar. That conduct is attributable to one cause, the basest and meanest of all, the desire for personal gain by any means and at any cost. It was the same longing which has animated the robber of the northern clime, the pirate of the southern sea, which has stimulated individuals to robbery, even to murder. In point of morality, the members of the governing clique of Calcutta from 1761 to 1763 were not one whit better than the perpetrators of such deeds."

His patriotism provoked and his noble sentiments of self-respect animated Mir Qasim to a bold and honourable resolution to shake off the English yoke and save his people and the country from the baneful influence of the wolves, their sinister interference and fiendish extortion under the pretence of "help," "assistance" or "support." Accordingly, he transported the seat of his government from Murshidabad to Monghir; engaged the services of European experts and technicians and set to reform and remodel his army and his administration. By the close of 1762, the Nawab had ready for action, armed, trained, "and disciplined in the European fashion, a force of 25,000 infantry, and a regiment of excellent artillery men."

By an imperial *farman* the English Company enjoyed the right of trading in Bengal without payment of transit dues or tolls. Under the nominal rule of the decrepit Jaffer, even the meanest servant of the company became a rapacious exploiter and claimed and abused without restraint the same trading privileges granted to the Company for himself. The result was that the Company's servants "amassed huge fortunes," while the public treasury was damaged beyond measure and the Indian traders were ruined by the unfair competition. Besides extortion, the Company's "servants had established a reign of terror. Mir Qasim wrote to the Company's Governor in 1762: 'They forcibly take away the goods for a fourth part of their value; and by way of violence and oppressions, they oblige the ryots to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee. Official documents of the Company confirm this state of things, and add that those who refused the unjust demands of the Company's servants were flogged or confined."[1] Mir Qasim protested against the heinous

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1. "In order to ensure a regular and abundant supply of cotton goods, the Company entered into forward contracts with the weavers to supply stipulated quantities of cloth at fixed dates. This became a new source of oppression in the hands of their servants. Armed with the authority of the Company, they forced the poor weavers, on pains of flogging, to sign most iniquitous bonds. The latter were paid for their goods much less than their usual price, sometimes even less than the cost of materials, while they were forbidden to work for any

corruption and atrocious iniquities on the part of the Company's servants and in vain repeated his requests to the Calcutta Council to restrain and stop the same. His continued insistence provoked the "honourable members" of the Council who were getting fattened on the immoral practice; and at length their mean avarice precipitated a most vital and explosive issue between Mir Qasim and the Company. So mush so that Vansittart, the acting governor, himself journeyed up to Monghir. An agreement was the result of the labours between him and the Nawab, but his affort was wrecked and the agreement was rejected by the ignoble greed of the Council members. Mir Qasim, equally determined on his part to put an end to the insulting exploitation and ghastly oppression, abolished the duties altogether. The English wolves flew to unbounden rage and demanded back the vicious source of their loot. In particular Ellis, the chief of the English factory at Patna, found a unique opportunity to immortalise his name. At once he took up the sword to enforce the English demand and marched to seize the city of Patna. The mad attempt, however, was foiled by the troops of Mir Qasim; the ambitious aggressor lost his life and the English garrison was cut to pieces. Mir Qasim protested against the conduct of Ellis and, in his protest, he, writes Col. Malleson:

> "charged Mr. Ellis with having attacked his city of Patna like a robber in the night; with having plundered the bazars robbed the merchants, and slain the unoffending citizens. For this—sarcastically observed the Nawab—Mr. Ellis himself had personally given him satisfaction by supplying him with the arms and ammunition of which he stood in need. But that satisfaction still left the Company his debtor. From it the Nawab demanded a reparation similar to that which Calcutta had claimed for the treatment accorded to it in 1756. Passing from that single action, he next reviewed the policy of the Company, as represented by the Calcutta Council, towards himself. He charged upon that Council that, after having made with him a treaty, 'to which they had pledged the name of Jesus Christ,' by virtue of which he had made over to them three districts for the avowed purpose of paying the expenses of an army which should support him and promote his affairs, they had used that force for his destruction. He called upon them, therefore, to return to him the three years' rent which they had misapplied to restore the three districts, and to make

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other party on pain of corporal punishment. A similar policy was adopted towards the works in raw silk.

"The story is current in Bengal that, in order to avoid being forced to weave for the Company, many weavers used to cut off their own thumbs. This story is perhaps merely a popular invention, but there is not the slightest doubt about the great misery and oppression suffered by the poor weavers at this time at the hands of the Company's servants." (*An Advanced History of India.*)

compensation, likewise, for the violences and oppressions exercised during the same time by the English agents within his territories."

Describing the atrocious happening, Col. Malleson observes: "The cheek of every honest Englishman must burn with shame as he reads the account of the policy adopted by the leading men amongst his countrymen in India, a hundred and twenty years ago, towards the native ruler who had bought from the Calcutta Council his position, and whose only subsequent fault in their eyes was his endeavour to protect his subjects from European extortion."

The ever-increasing greed and "insatiable avarice" for extortion on the part of the "Honourable English" on one side and, on the other, the unyielding determination of Mir Qasim to save his people from the galling robbery and to end the English interference, made him a "contemptible creature," "unfit to rule on the throne" of Bengal, and agitated the unfortunate province once again with another catastrophe. The Calcutta Council opened negotiations with Mir Jaffer for reinstalling him on the throne of Bengal. That verteran intriguer was found to be ready once again to betray his country. The three years' miserable experience he had had of office without authority had not sickened him. He accepted all terms. Thus "having obtained from the low ambition of Mir Jafar, the advantages which the patriotism of Mir Kassim had refused to them, the Calcutta Council on July 7, 1763, issued a declaration of War against Mir Kassim and invited all his subjects to return to their allegiance to Mir Jafar the lawful Nawab."[1]

Mir Qassim could fight the English arms, but he was no match to the English cunning and deceit. The same scene of intrigue which determined the fate of Siraj-ud-Doula was repeated and Mir Qasim was driven out of his country to seek refuge from the neighbouring prince Shuja-ud-Doula. A stray or perfidious shot which killed Mohammed Taqi Khan, a gallant and trustworthy commander of Mir Qasim, and the treacherous desertion of his troops, struck a surprise and decided the engagement of Kotwa in favour of the English. "The irregular horsemen," writes Malleson, "who had fought Glenn the day before, and who might have decided the victory and with it the war, in favour of Mir Kassim, took no part in the action and retired after it had been decided." But the decisive encounter was that of Undwah Nala. "A chance denied to the prince of Essling was granted to Adams. It was the act of a single individual," remarks Col. Malleson, "which converted the despair of the English into confidence, it was the consequence of that act which changed the confidence of Mir Kassim's army into despair, from a love of treachery for its own sake, he prepared to betray him (Mir Kassim)."

In the disruption of the Mughal Empire, as mentioned before, the

1. Col. Malleson.

powerful nobles, each fighting for his own hand, had sought to secure for their respective families, in permanent possession, provinces or districts which they might claim as their own. Whilst one family appropriated the large territory known as the Dakhan, another the Karnatak, a third Bengal and Bihar, the representative of a fourth procured hereditary nomination for his family to the government of Oudh under the title of "Nawab Vazir." This was Saadat Khan, an adventurer of a Khorasani family of traders. On his death in 1739, his nephew and heir, Abdul Mansur, better known under the name of Safdar Jang, succeeded him in his offices; and on Safdar Jang's death, seventeen years later, his son, Shuja-ud-Doula, assumed his title and position without a murmur from any quarter.

Shuja-ud-Doula, the Nawab of Oudh, and the Emperor Shah Alam II espoused the cause of Mir Qasim but were defeated at Buxar (October 23, 1764) by the treachery of Balwant Singh (Raja of Benares), a vassal of Oudh,[1] Beni Bahadur,[2] the minister of Shuja-ud-Doula and the European Samru. But being unable to hold on, Clive concluded the "Treaty of Allahabad" whereby Oudh was restored to Shuja on payment of fifty lacs of rupees and Allahabad with the surrounding tracts was delivered to the Emperor Shah Alam II. In return for these concessions the Emperor by a *farman*, formally granted to the East India Company, on August 12, 1765, the much coveted and the much sought for Divani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. By the grant of the "*sanad*" of divani, the English won the recognition of being the lawful servants of the Mughal Emperor and authorised revenue collectors on his behalf.

The victory of Buxar, while it delivered Shuja-ud-Doula, bound hand and foot into the English hands, advanced the English fr ›ntier for "all practical purposes to the borders of Allahabad."

In the meantime, the death of Mir Jaffer in early 1765 had afforded another opportunity for the establishment of the English supremacy on a definite basis. The accession of Jaffer's son, Najm-ud-Doula, a minor, to the nominal office of his father (Februay 20, 1765) was allowed only on the condition that "the entire management of administration should be left in the hands of a minister, to be called the 'Deputy Subedar,' who would be nominated by the English and could not be dismissed without their consent. The supreme control over the administration had, thus, passed into the hands of the English, while the Nawab remained merely as a figurehead.

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1. As a reward, for his perfidy, Balwant was guaranteed all his zamindari, in article No. 4 in the treaty of Allahabad concluded between the English and Shuja-ud-Doula, with an express promise on the part of the Nawab to forgive him.

2. See: *Memoires Sur l'Indostan*, M. Gentil, (the author was in Shuja's service for several years; he charges Deni Bahadur's with treachery responsible for Shuja's defeat), *Ibrat Nama* by Khairud-Din; *Maadan-us-Saadat* by Sultan Ali Safawi.

The English as yet coul d not dare to challenge the Indian sentiment by openly installing themselves in power or exercising the power they had acquired in their own name. The English domination had begun in the name of Mir Jaffer, nominally owing allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, and when the direct rule began, it was by "a direct grant from the Mughal Emperor." They concealed their weakness or strength under the mask of hypocrisy; they were masters of Bengal but professed themselves the servants of the Emperor (Mughal); their will was the law of Bengal, but in the decalration of laws or orders they borrowed the name of the people and Shah Alam.

Clive left India for good in February 1767. During the period of ten years—from the date of overthrow of Siraj-ud-Doula to Clive's departure—the rich spoils of Bengal enabled "the British to develop a disciplined Indian Army, to stop the mouths of cavilling critics in London and to enrich themselves."[1] While describing the rapine and extortion of the time, Scrafton observes: "Mir Jaffer was in fact no more than a banker for the Company's servants who could draw upon him as often and to as great an amount as they pleased."[2] It was, in the words of Spear, "the period of plunder in Bengal, when Clive marvelled at his own moderation and a man might make a fortune in a few years, lose it in England, make a second and lose it second time and return to India for a third." The fiendish and debased nature of Clive had even refused to Amichand Bania the well earned reward for his betrayal to his country. "The greed for money," observes Col. Malleson, "the ever-increasing demand for the augmenation of the sum origina lly asked for, the dishonouring trick by which a confederate was to be baulked of his share in the spoil; these are actions the contemplation of which makes, and will always make, the h art of an honest man burn with indignation." The treasures, the wealth and the rich produce of Bengal were squeezed to England; the unfortunate province groaned under grinding yoke of the English exploiters; and "the human result" of that unrelenting avarice, extortion, and plunder "was the terrible Bengal famine of 1770, when the Company congratulated itself on a good revenue collection in spite of it."[3] The famine indeed was terrible—"Men deserted their wives and children. Women sold themselves as slaves. Mothers sold their children. Children, deserted by their parents, sold themselves. Some families took poison and so died together; others threw themselves into the rivers. Mothers and children went to the river-bank and drowned themselves, hand in hand, so that the rivers flowed full of corpses. Some ate carrion flesh. Others cut up the corpses of men and drew out the entrails to fill their own bellies; men lying in the streets, not yet dead, were cut up by others; and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets and still more on

1. Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 117.
2. *History of the Bengal Army*, p. 497.
3. Percival Spear, p. 125.

road-journeys men ran a great danger of being murdered and eaten. ....Many hundred thousands of men died of hunger, so that the whole country was covered with corpses lying unburied....But the calamity could excite no mercy from the tyrants, nor move them to suspend their loot and extortion nor could persuade them to help the sons of the soil in the hour of distress. The end was tragic and lamentable; one-third to one-half of the inhabitants expired.[1]

The founder of the British power in India returned home with buoyant hopes to capture the House of Commons, but the heinous record of his atrocities soon insulted and humbled his ambition. Even his vast treasures, the fruit of rapine and fraud could afford him little service. Meanwhile the shadows of his outrages, the guilt of his crimes had created a phantom, which pursued him by land and sea, by day and night. But if he could fly from India and her people, he could fly not from himself. Odious to himself and to mankind, Clive at length perished by his own hands, regretted by none but detested by all.

The frauds and deceits of Clive could not be justified even by the most ample privileges of state reasons. He promised only to betray, he flattered only to ruin, and however occasionally he might bind himself by oaths and treaties, his conscience, ever obsequious to his selfish interest, always released him from the inconvenient obligation.

Hastings

It is perhaps not a correct observation that Clive was the most contemptible character in the Indian history; there were many others who were as debased and ignoble as Clive, and whose talents for intrigue and cunning raised them to be the mighty pillars of the British Imperialism. Warren Hastings, for instance, who succeeded Clive to nourish the sapling of British Imperialism planted by him in India, was no less dishonest, no less cunning and no less knavish than Clive. Burke described him as "a captain-general of iniquity, one in whom all the fraud, all the tyranny of India are embodied, disciplined, and arrayed." Greed and rapacity were the pivots on which turned all his actions. He would rather be described not as a man, but as one of the infernal furies tormented with an insatiate thirst of human blood. Burke charged him with "avarice, rapacity, pride, cruelty, ferocity, malignity of temper, haughtiness, insolence, in short, everything that manifests a heart blackened to the very blackest, a heart dyed deep in blackness, a heart gangrened to the core." Hastings 'murdered' Nand Kumar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." He "is not satisfied without sucking the blood of fourteen hundred nobles. He is never corrupt without creating a famine.... He is like the ravenous vulture who feeds on the dead and the enfeebled." He is a "swindling Mecaenas," a bad scribbler of absurd papers, who could never put

1. R.W. Frazer, *British India.*

two sentences of sense together."[1] Humanity is shocked at the recital of the fiendish intrigues and the unparalleled brutalities that he perpetrated under the cover of treacherous friendship on the unsuspecting inhabitants of this land. "Such," remarked Burke, "are the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell, and such a judge was Warren Hastings." In his closing remarks, Burke described Hastings as "a captain-general of iniquity, thief, tyrant, robber, cheat, swindler, sharper. . . . the common enemy and oppressor of mankind."

Hastings, in the words of Burke, was "a man whose origin was low, obscure and vulgar and bred in vulgar and ignoble habits." He made his mark in the Indian history with his appointment, in 1768, to a seat in the Madras Council. During his voyage from Dover to Madras, this "noble Englishman" seduced the affections of a young charming lady, wife of a fellow-passenger, Baron Imhoff, a German nobleman; and the entire ship could witness that he slept in the arms of the married lady. The passionate lover, regardless of the shame of the public scandal and careless of the dignity of his rank, pursued the Baron with a divorce suit, till the victim of his amorous seduction was yoked to him in wedlock.

Nawab Wazir

And, as luck would have it for him, Hastings found in Shuja-ud-Doula a traitor, no less trustworthy a tool than Clive's Mir Jaffer. This traitor whom also no laws could bind nor any morality could restrain had, like Mir Jaffer, no sense of honour, nor fear of universal reproach; but, unlike Mir Jaffer, he was very subtle, cunning and active. His rank selfishness tore into shreds the fabric of the crumbling Mughal Empire. He betrayed, betrayed and ever betrayed the credulous Shah Alam. He betrayed his own cousin Mohammed Quli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad, and not only got him assassinated, but had his entire family slaughtered and his line wiped out. He had invited Mir Qasim, pledged support and protection on oath by sending to him fly-leaves of a copy of the Qur'an and then having perfidiously seduced his officers, the rascal robbed the unfortunate victim of his treasures, confined him to a prison-house and then, seating him on a lame-elephant (as a man of ill-omen) ordered him to be driven out of his territory. He did not hesitate to betray Ahmed Shah Abdali in the thickest of the great battle (third) of Panipat; but fortunately his betrayal could cause no consequence against the mighty Khan. He betrayed the Rohillas who had sent three thousand of their sons under Inayat Khan (son of Hafiz Rehmat Khan) to fight and die for him in the battle of Buxar and who in the face of great risks had afforded shelter and protection to him and to his mother, wives and family at a time when, having been defeated, he was wandering homeless and shelterless and neither the heaven nor the earth had a tear of pity to drop for him. He betrayed Hyder Ali, the ruler

1. Burke.

of Mysore, delivered to the English the secret letter of Hyder Ali[1] sent to him and betrayed Hyder's plan of action against the usurpers; he rejected Hyder Ali's patriotic appeal for joining a "patriotic war" for driving out the English; and instead established for the benefit of the English news service with the Deccan States, raised at his own expense and placed at Verelst's (English Governor) disposal a large body of troops, especially cavalry, to fight against Hyder Ali; he also offered to make a diversion on "the enemy from the north." He was the man to suggest to Verelst the desirability of procuring a royal *sanad* from Shah Alam for the Nizam's dominions, and inviting the Nizam's subject to desert the master—publicly dismissed by his Mughal suzerian. He also proposed and nursed up the contemptible idea of forming a confederacy of important powers such as the Marathas, Jawahar Singh Jat, Ahmed Shah Bangash and the Ruhilla chiefs, to crush the two Muslim powers of the South.[2] He threatened Nizam to abandon his alliance with Hyder Ali. He was the first Indian prince[3] who had the disgraceful honour of making an offer to accept, as his sovereign, the King of England in place of the Mughal Emperor, to coin rupees in the name of George III and to act as his Minister (Vizier) in India at a time (1773) when Shah Alam was still ruling at Delhi and the English had yet to establish their claim as a paramount power in the land. His life-history is in fact a record of betrayals to his country, to his brethren and to his people. Excepting the English there was no one who reposed trust in him and was not betrayed. Abject servility to the English was the pride of his life and his "useful services rendered no mean assistance" in consolidating and setting the British power on a firm basis.

Benares Intrigue

The Benares intrigue, known under the name of the "treaty of Benares," is the first event that forces on our attention the fiendish and debased nature of Hastings.

The fertile country of Ruhelkhund, lying at the base of the Himalayas to the north-west of Oudh, governed by a confederacy of Ruhilla chiefs under the leadership of Hafiz Rehmat Khan, formed the homeland of the Ruhillas, a brave race of Pathan warriors. In 1770, after recovering from the deadly blow of Panipat, the Maratha hordes once again appeared in full force in the north and held out serious menace to Ruhelkhund, Oudh and to the English in particular as "Shah Alam, the helpless Mughal Emperor, had slipped into the Maratha control." The English also feared lest the Nawab or Ruhillas might join the Marathas; but they were unable to risk an open hostility. The English general Sir Robert Barker

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. II (Govt. Press, Calcutta, 1911-1930). (Comprises Vols. 1—5, contains many thousand letters from and to the English Governor, Shuja and other notables).

2. See *Shuja-ud-Dowla* by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Vol. II, Ed. 1945.

3. Ibid.

on the plea of the common Maratha danger, invited the Ruhilla chiefs for offensive and defensive negotiations at Shahabad, and sent Harper more than once to pursuade them to accept his invitation. No Ruhilla desired, as Barker himself acknowledged, "an alliance with the fickle-minded Wazir. But the skilful managing of Harper brought the Ruhela chiefs to Shujabad."[1] Shuja "too on his part was not inclined to antagonise the Marathas by entering into any defensive treaty with Ruhelkhund." Yet the efforts and pressure of Barker, a consummate intriguer, as admitted by him before the House of Commons, united the arms of Oudh and Rohelkhund, by an offensive and defensive pact, which was signed and sealed in his presence on June 13, 1772. The treaty among others provided that if the Marathas invaded Rohelkhund, the Nawab would expel them, and for that service the Ruhillas would pay him forty lacs of rupees.

The information of the treaty provoked the Marathas to taking steps for chastisement of the audacious Nawab; they obtained from the Emperor (in their control) a rescript for grant unto them of the districts of Allahabad and Kora, an order to Munir, then in charge of these districts, to deliver them (those districts) to the Marathas, and permission for invasion of Oudh and Bihar. On February 2, 1773, Maratha envoys were despatched to demand cession of Kora and Allahabad from Shuja and also to demand the indemnity promised in 1771 from the Ruhillas. The demand of "Cession" appeared to Shuja an immediate step to an invasion of his territories; he perceived the distasteful consequences of the treaty to which he had been yoked by Barker, found that a struggle with the Marathas was unavoidable and wrote to Warren Hastings for military assistance. Warren Hastings read with joy the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to the service of the Nawab. The Ramghat expedition, which completely outwitted the Marathas, reduced them to sue for peace. On Shuja's promise to deliver to them two bonds, one for fifteen lacs of rupees from Hafiz Rehmat and the other for five lacs of rupees from Muzaffar Jang Bangash, the invaders (Marathas) evacuated the country and retreated to the Deccan. The operations of the Ramghat expedition were undertaken as much for the safety of Oudh as for Ruhelkhand; the Ruhilla chiefs therefore pleaded for reconsideration of the question of payment of the stipulated sum of forty lacs of rupees instead of paying the same as demanded by Shuja. The Nawab rejoiced in the denial of the claim; and, forgetful of the military service that the Ruhilla cavalry had rendered to him in the battle of Buxar and forgetful of the shelter that the Ruhillas had afforded to him after his rout at Buxar and also forgetful of the obligations on his part towards the Ruhillas, the crafty vizier, caught at so opportune a pretext for annexing Ruhillas' homeland with Oudh and for executing his father's

1. See *Shuja-ud-Dowla*, Vol. II.

malicious but unsuccessful scheme against Ruhelkhund. Accordingly with the approval of Barker, he requested for help against Ruhillas and wrote direct to Hastings that: "should the Rohela Sirdars be guilty of a breach of their agreement, and the English gentlemen will thoroughly exterminate them and settle me in their country, I will in that case pay them fifty lacs of rupees in ready money, and besides exempt them from paying any tribute to the king out of the Bengal revenues." Eager to accept the tempting offer, Hastings, in spite of the raining monsoons, travelled down to meet Shuja and reached Benares on August 9, 1773. The strictly secret labours of the two intriguers, the Nawab and Hastings, produced the notorious document known as the "Treaty of Benares"—sealed and signed by the parties on September 7, 1773. It was "decided that the Rohillas should be driven from Rohilkhand by a united force of Oudh and the Company; that the Nawab Wazir should, after the campaign, take possession of the outlying districts of Rohilkhand, as well as Kora and Allahabad held to have been ceded by the Emperor; and that the Company in return should receive the 40 lakhs of rupees, as well as a further sum of 210,000 rupees monthly, during the time its troops were engaged in the field, for war expenses."[1] Quite obviously, the solid benefits were retained for the English, while Shuja was charged with the burden to bear the brunt of the rage of the Marathas and wrath of the Emperor. But the Nawab was prepared to yield to every condition if he were granted support for conquering Ruhelkhund. Contrary to expectations, the great Englishmen welcomed Shuja's atrocious design, promised him full support; and later on all the military aid, Shuja asked for, was commanded to his service for exterminating the "guilty" Ruhillas. Afterwards, tendering his beneficial advice, Hastings also wrote to Shuja: "to take what he could but not give up a rupee. Whatever deficiency there should be in their payments, would serve as a fair pretence for any future designs he might form against them."[2]

While war was in his heart, the hypocrite Nawab spoke the language of peace and continued negotiations with Hafiz, the Ruhilla chief, up to the last moment. Through Najaf Khan, he secured the Emperor's consent to lend his moral and military support to his Ruhilla campaign and also his acceptance to appear at the head of his troops. He seduced away Muzaffar Bangash and Zabita Khan from the Ruhilla confederacy. When their preparations for attack were complete, the aggressors threw off their mask, and the allied British and Oudh troops marched into Ruhelkhund on April 17, 1774. Ruhillas repeatedly wrote to Champion, the English Commander-in-Chief, to desist from the unjust aggression against Rohelkhund, as they had offered to the English in particular no offence and caused them no

1. R.W. Frazer, *British India.*
2. Strachey, *Benares Diary*, p. 114.

wrong or complaint. Persuasion is the usual resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade. Hafiz attempted without success to dissuade the English from joining the impious war of aggression and in vain he did all that could be done to avert a war. At length when every hope for peace disappeared, the hero felt obliged to open his lips and addressed Champion: "It is glorious to die a brave man and inglorious to submit to bastards. Pursue your impious design. My trust is in God alone. If He delivers the field into your hand, I shall submit without a murmur. But until the Judge of the Earth and the Skies shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in defence of my people."

Rival forces met at Miranpur Katra on April 23, 1774. The Rohillas fought with unparalleled bravery; but the odds were too heavy. Besides being far inferior in number, the Pathan warriors who were trained only to sword-fight, had to face unrelenting artillery fire. The result was almost foregone; yet Rohilla courage, it appeared more than once, might change the course of the battle. However at mid-day after about 5-6 hours' engagement, as ill luck would have it, a ball struck Hafiz Rehmat Khan when he led a charge on the enemy artillery and the brave leader fell dead. The misfortune not only decided the issue of the war, but also sealed the fate of the entire race of the wretched people.

The mean implacable revenge of the wicked Wazir got Hafiz's head severed from his body; and in most base and mean manner Shuja-ud-Doula slapped it on face and then lifting it by the beard insultingly exposed it to the public gaze. The subjects wept the death of the hero, while Shah Madan a notable Muslim divine, careless of the hatred of the brute and fearless of the consequences,[1] declared the great Hafiz a martyr.

Rohillas were slaughtered on the field, in streets and in their houses; neither age was spared nor sex; all alike hewn to pieces. Their habitations streamed with blood, echoed and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, and the shrieks of the outraged virgins. According to Mill, "every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered or found his safety in flight and in exile." Macaulay tells us: "There then a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, rather than to endure the tyranny of him whom the Christian Government had sold their substance, their blood, and the honour of their wives and children. And Hastiings looked on with folded arms while their villages burned, their children butchered and their women violated." Those who survived the massacre lived only to see the dishonour and violation of their daughters,[2] pillaging and burning of their homes and hearths, devas-

1. Shah Madan was thereafter immediately thrown into a prison.

2. The Ruhillas at great risk had given shelter and protection to the mother, family and dependents of Shuja-ud-Doula when after his rout at Buxar, he was

tation and ruin of their country and then like beasts of burden to be chained in gangs and driven out from their homeland. The small race (Rohillas) was literally exterminated and their country disappeared for ever from the political map.

By the victories of Plassey and Buxar, Clive won a foothold for the Company in India; and by the Treaty of Benares, as Hastings wrote, the Nawab Wazir obtained "a complete compact state shut in effectually from the frontiers of Behar to the mountains of Tibet, while he would remain equally accessible to our forces from the above provinces either for hostilities or for protection. It would give him wealth, of which we should partake. It would undoubtedly, by bringing his frontier nearer to the Mārathas, for whom singly he would be no match, render him more dependent on us, and cement the union more firmly between us."

Raja Chait Singh

Originally, Chait Singh, son of Balwant Singh whose betrayal caused Shuja the loss and won for the usurpers, the battle of Buxar, was a feudatory of the Nawab of Oudh. After the death of Shuja-ud-Doula, the avarice of Hastings required of the new Nawab to transfer the allegiance of Chait Singh to the Company so as to gain the large revenues of Chait Singh's estate. The demand was an order which the Nawab was unable to refuse. Chait Singh, accordingly, was placed under the overlordship of the Company in July 1775 by "a formal treaty," whereby Chait Singh agreed and was required to pay an annual tribute of 22½ lacs of rupees to his new master. It was expressly contained in the Treaty that "no demand shall be made upon by him the Hon'ble Company, of any kind, or on any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any person be allowed to interfere with his authority or to disturb the peace of his country." Thus morally or legally the Raja was bound by no obligation to pay any sum more than 22½ lacs of rupees. But nothing could ever bind Hastings to the oaths of treaties, though solemnly pledged by the names "of Christ and the Holy Mary." Regardless of the dignity of his high office and the sanctity of his oaths, Hastings shamelessly violated the terms of the treaty and demanded from the Raja an additional sum of five lacs in 1778. The helpless feudatory, who could not resist, surrendered and in addition to the amount demanded

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running from place to place for shelter and provided him with funds when he was rotting about a penniless fugitive.

Now let us compare the treatment he gave in return.

After Ruhillas' defeat, when the united forces of the Company and the Nawab occupied Pilibhit, Shuja-ud-Doula, instead if returning kindness and affording respect and protection to the family and women of the deceased Rohilla leader, had Hafiz's daughter brought to him one night to assert his victor's privilege of brutal lust, and ravish the poor terrified maid by force. But as ill-luck would have it for the rascal, the proud and brave girl had brought a dagger dipped into poison concealed under her garments and instead of yielding to the shameless creature, gave a blow in his thigh when he uncovered himself and thus saved herself from molestation and avenged her father.

paid a bribe of two lacs of rupees to Hastings to feed the greed of the Governor-General so as to save himself from future harassment. But the information of bribe leaked out and Hastings was obliged to surrender the bribe-money to the Company. The suspicion of the Governor-General fixed the guilt of this disgrace on Chait Singh and his vengeance repeated, in the name of the Company, extortionate demand of more money several times. The wretched Raja after pleading for time and exemption complied with it on every occasion. But Raja's plea of poverty and inability were treated as "guilt" of rebellion which deserved a heavy punishment from the malice of Hastings. Accordingly in 1780, the Raja was ordered to furnish 2,000 cavalry,—a demand which his despoiled estate and exhausted treasury could never satisfy. Yet the Raja gathered 500 cavalry and 500 infantry as substitute and informed Hastings that they were ready for serving the Company; but the delay in compliance, regardless of the Raja's difficulties, was an unpardonable crime of high treason. The wolf was determined to swallow the lamb for the old guilt of disgracing him; Hastings inflicted on him a fine of fifty lacs of rupees. "I was resolved," he said, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distress. . . . In a word I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." Obviously, the extortionate demand was far beyond the means and meagre resources of the Raja. Hastings in person rushed down to Benares and placed the Raja under arrest. The Raja quietly submitted; but the indignity inflicted upon him infuriated his soldiers, who suddenly rose without their master's instigation or his knowledge and massacred a good number of the English sepoys with three English officers. Hastings flew for his personal safety to Chunar. The disturbance however was soon quelled, but nothing could exonerate Chait Singh from the "guilt of complicity" and to save his neck he was obliged to leave both his home as well as his throne.

Hastings' "mercenary policy," as observed by the Court of Directors, was "unwarrantable" and, whatever might be said by the modern apologists of Hastings, there is no doubt that his conduct was "cruel, unjust and oppressive," as Pitt observed in his measured and mild language at the time of his impeachment.

Begums of Oudh

Shuja-ud-Doula died on January 26, 1775, leaving behind a rumour that his wife and mother known to history as "Begums of Oudh" had received from the deceased Nawab besides extensive *jagirs*, yielding a yearly income of £50,000, immense treasures amounting to several million sterling. The floating report was too alluring to the rapacious brute—Hastings.

On the death of the Nawab Wazir on February 6, 1775, the Calcutta Council forced on the young Nawab Wazir, Asaf-ud-Doula, a new treaty—called the treaty of Faizabad. By this treaty the new

Nawab was required to pay a sum of one crore and a half of rupees at once on account of the arrears due by the state, and also to defray an increased monthly subsidy of 50,000 rupees as the pay of the Company's troops quartered in Oudh; while the revenue from the territories surrounding Benares was annexed by the Company to whom the Raja of Benares, Chait Singh, became feudatory. As a result of the heavy subsidy imposed on him, the Nawab sank deeper and deeper into the Company's debt.

After finishing Chait Singh, Hastings pressed Asaf-ud-Doula for immediate payment of the Company's dues, and, by a naked threat of coercion, forced the Nawab into a notorious agreement, whereby it was decided that "the landed estates of the Begums should be resumed by the Nawab; the debts due to the Company to be paid from the treasures left by the deceased Nawab Wazir; and a bribe of 10 lacs of rupees to be paid to Hastings as a 'gift.' "

In pursuance of the agreement, the Nawab sought the English help for seizing the treasures of the Begums to clear off the arrears, but, to the great chagrin of Hastings, he was outvoted by his Council. Instead, the British Resident in Oudh made a representation to the Begums, and the widow of Shuja-ud-Doula "gave to her son £300,000, in addition to £250,000 already paid to him, on the guarantee of British Resident and the Calcutta Council in Calcutta that no further demands should be made on her in future." The departure of Sir Francis from India, on August 17, 1780, left Hastings absolutely unfettered and free. Asaf-ud-Doula was asked to proceed with execution of the agreement concluded by him with the Governor-General, and British troops were commanded to his service for pillaging and seizing the "fabulous wealth and treasures" of the Begums. But the Nawab now wavered and began to shrink from doing a vicious thing against his own mother and grandmother, and violate their dignity. The hesitation on the Nawab's part exasperated Hastings and he severely snubbed the British Resident and also applied the screw to the Nawab. In his letter to Middleton, Hastings wrote (in December 1781): "You must not allow any negotiations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nawab." The British troops were sent to Faizabad, where the Begums lived; the residences of the defenceless Begums were mercilessly pillaged by the British troops; their guests and guards were slaughtered and their dependents and menial servants were compelled by imprisonment, starvation and threat, and infliction of flogging to yield information regarding the supposed treasures.

But the climax reached when the rumour of the fabulous treasures was found false and the British troops refused to march out until a bribe, of ten lacs of rupees, was presented to the Governor-General.

According to Burke, Sheridan, and Macaulay, the Wazir and the Governor-General joined in "a plot to rob the two ladies," one

of whom was "parent to one of the robbers." Macaulay observes that "there can be no doubt that Hastings was the 'moving spirit' in the whole transaction." The systematic cruelty of Hastings on this occasion surpassed all limits. "The employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs," observes Sir Alfred Lyall, "is an ignoble kind of undertaking. . . . to cancel the guarantee and leave the Nawab to deal with the recalcitrant princess was unjustifiable; to push him on and actively assist in measures of coercion against women and eunuchs was a conduct unworthy and indefensible."

Nand Kumar's Judicial Murder

Nand Kumar was a Brahman of high rank; he held the important post of Faujdar of Hugli during the regime of Siraj-ud-Doula. He betrayed his benefactor and by his perfidy Chandarnagar fell to Clive's hand in March 1757. In March 1775, Nand Kumar attempted to perform the role of a hero and charged Hastings before the Calcutta Council with taking of bribe worth many lacs, among them Rs. 54,000 from him (Nand Kumar) and Rs. 354,105 from Munni Begum, the widow of Mir Jaffer, for appointments of his son and Munni Begum to the Nawab's establishment. Hastings "refused to meet the charges." The Councillors proceeded with the complaint; evidence was recorded and documents impounded. The Council at length reached the decision that the charges against Hastings were true and that he should pay the money into the Company's treasury.

In preferring the complaint, founded on howsoever truthful and irrefutable facts, the ill-fated Brahman misjudged the capacity for mischief of Hastings and miscalculated the dangerous consequences of provoking the wrath of a master. On May 9, 1775, one Mohan Prasad, an underling of the Governor-General, brought a false charge against Nand Kumar, of forgery in connection with a will executed five years before. By the effort of Hastings, Nand Kumar was tried by four judges headed by the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, a Hastings' associate, with a "full" English jury. The Brahman repeatedly wrote to the Calcutta Council that he was a "victim of conspiracy between the Governor-General and the Supreme Court" and cried for fairness and justice. But the long arm of Hastings was all too powerful. Nand Kumar was convicted and hanged for the offence of forgery on August 5, 1775; and the "judicial murder" of the Brahman condemned to eternal disgrace the "criminal partiality" of the Judge Impey and his abuse of the exalted office. Sir James Stephen says that "if he had to depend upon the evidence called for the prosecution, he would not have convicted the prisoner." Sir Francis wrote: "After the death of Nundcoomar, the Governor, I believe, is well assured that no man who regards his own safety will venture to stand forth as his accuser." A little later in 1788, he (Sir Francis) said in the House of Commons that he had "feared for

Clavering's safety, not knowing to what length those judges, who had already dipped their hands in blood to answer a political purpose, might proceed on the same principle." Burke and Elliot observed that: "Hastings had murdered Nand Kumar by the hands of Impey," while Macaulay declares that "none but idiots and biographers can doubt that Hastings was the real mover in the business" and brands Impey with the "foul fame of Jaffreys." A later writer Beveridge, in his famous book *Trial of Maharaja Nanda-Kumar*, holds that Hastings "did conspire with Impey to murder his ancient foe."

In October 1780, Hastings rewarded Impey with the "presidency of Sadr Diwani Adalat, the Chief Civil Court." Macaulay describes this appointment as "the giving and taking of bribe" and the Chief Justice became in Macaulay's words: "Rich, quiet, and infamous." Hastings never forgot Impey's "good turn" and was a constant visitor to Impey at Newick during his retired life.

Marathas

By 1770, the Marathas appeared to have recovered from the blow at Panipat and were once again zealously engaged in military operations in the north to dominate Delhi. But the death of the young Peshwa, Madhava Rao I, changed the course of events and involved Poona in the pernicious struggles and dissensions of succession. The throne was disputed by an uncle Raghunath Rao or Raghoba and the deceased's brother and successor Nayaran Rao. An armed conspiracy removed for good Narayan Rao and Raghunath Rao was acknowledged as the Peshwa, but only to enjoy the fruit of his intrigue for no more than a few months. The birth of a posthumous son of the preceding Peshwa from his wife, Ganga Bai, gave a new and swift turn to Maratha politics. The confederate Maratha leaders, who were already united under the leadership of Nana Fernavis, recognised the infant as the lawful Peshwa, and set up a council of regency in his name. Raghoba's counter-moves failed and he was driven out of the homeland; but his inordinate ambition solicited the disgraceful aid of the English. As in Karnatak and elsewhere in India, here also the internal quarrels among the Indian princes and chiefs tempted the British to become king-makers. The Bombay Council readily accepted to execute the mission of aggression and of interference in the Maratha affairs and at once concluded (March 7, 1775) the "Treaty of Surat" whereby, apart from the cost of the English troops, Raghoba agreed to cede to the English the island of Salsette and the harbour of Bassein—the long-coveted possessions, with a part of the revenues of the Baroda and Surat districts.

The English and the Marathas met for the first time at the plain of Arras on May 18, 1775; and the allied forces of the Company and Raghoba won the day. But within a few months the allies suffered a

crushing defeat on January 9, 1776, at Telegaon on the Western Ghats; and so disasterous was the defeat that the English forces were obliged to make an unconditional surrender and sign a humiliating convention at Wadgaon. By this convention the English agreed to give back all their acquisitions since 1773, to withdraw the forces arriving from Bengal and to surrender two hostages as a guarantee for faithful performance of the "disgraceful" convention.

Hastings sent an envoy to Bhonsla, the Maratha ruler of Nagpur, to seduce him from joining the Western Marathas; and as the critical moment passed away he refused to acknowledge and stand by the terms of the Wadgaon convention, its oaths and undertakings. He wrote: "We have already disavowed the convention of Wadgaon. Would to God we could as easily efface the infamy which our national character has sustained." Aggression was renewed. A strong army, which had been sent from Bengal under Colonel Goddard, surprised Gujerat and seized the capital city of Ahmedabad on February 15 and captured Bassein on December 11, 1780; but in April 1781, Goddard, while attempting to advance towards Poona, suffered heavy reverses and had to fall back. In the meanwhile, Captain Popham, who had also been sent from Bengal to support the Rana of Gohad, an old enemy of the Sindhia, captured Gwalior by escalade on August 3. General Camac also defeated the forces of Sindhia at Sipri (modern Sivpur) on February 16, 1781.

Mahadaji Sindhia, who had been long aiming at the leadership of the Maratha confederacy and wanted a free hand in Northern India, was all along anxious for peace. He therefore opened negotiations with the English and offered on October 13, 1781, to effect a treaty fully accommodating the wishes of the Governor-General. Sindhia's efforts resulted in the "Treaty of Salbai" signed on May 17, 1782. As a solid benefit of this treaty the English were confirmed in the possession of the islands of Salsette and Elephanta while Raghoba disappeared into oblivion.

The Nizam of Hyderabad

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, though theoretically a representative of the Delhi Emperor in the Deccan, had like many others become virtually independent of the latter's authority in the reign of Mohammed Shah. He was a strong and capable ruler, loved by his subjects and feared by his enemies. But the dissensions of succession after his death dragged his weak son, Nizam Ali, into the grip of the English intrigue. An offensive and defensive alliance was the immediate result (November 12, 1766). After a short estrangement during the First Anglo-Mysore War, the nerveless Nizam Ali was again enticed into another treaty in 1768, whereby, under the pretence of defence, Deccan was robbed for ever of the vast and rich areas of Northern Sarkars on an unenforcible promise by the usurpers of an annual tribute of nine lacs of rupees. And as the Sarkar of Guntur had been granted for life to the

Nizam's brother, Basalat Jang, the amount of tribute was reduced to seven lacs. Repeated failure on the Company's part of the performance of its obligations and the taking over from Basalat Jang the Sarkar of Guntur over the head of Nizam and his consequent mortification in 1779 once again provoked and alienated the weak successor of Asaf Jah. With a great show of courage he joined in an anti-English confederacy with Hyder and the Marathas. But all his anti-British enthusiasm vanished when Hastings' intrigue transferred back the Guntur Sarkar to Basalat; and the contemptible ruler of Deccan, at once reposing his full confidence in the 'fair words' of the usurpers, abandoned without a blush his allies of the Second Anglo-Mysore War—at a time when the war had already "progressed to the crushing disadvantage of the English."

After Basalat Jang's death in 1782, the English again seized the Sarkar of Guntur in 1788 and the feeble Nizam who had now no power to resist comforted his afflicted mind by making a request for aid from the British, "in return," "to recover some of his districts which Tipu had seized."

Hyder Ali

However, amidst the uninterrupted progress and success of the English intrigues and atrocities which yoked to British chains, or wiped out one by one, several of the Indian princes and chiefs, one man rose in the South, who foiled the cunning and frustrated the deceitful manoeuvrings of the usurpers and delayed the slavery and ruin of India above fifty years. He was Hyder Ali—the brave—the one ruler, first and the last, who vanquished the English in decisive battles. The treaties of Madras (dictated by Hyder Ali on April 4, 1769) and of Manglore (concluded in March 1784), which constitute undying memorials to the commanding talents and rare genius of Hyder Ali, have immortalised the name of the Mysore ruler and the shame of the English.

From a humble birth, sheer courage and merit of Hyder Ali promoted him to the command of the Mysorian armies and then seated him on the throne of Mysore. In his early childhood at the age of seven, he was deprived of his father, Fateh Mohammed, a "naik" in the service of the Chief of Sera; and debts were the only inheritance which the deceased left behind for his children. The sole fortune of Hyder Ali consisted in his fearless courage and resourcefulness. In 1749, under the command of Nanjiraj, the Mysorians stormed the stronghold of Deonhalli in the contest, nominally between Chanda Sahib and Mohammed Ali, really between the French and the English, for supremacy in the Karnatak. Hyder Ali, at that time in his early youth, served as a volunteer in the besieging warfare. He was noticed as "the first on the field of danger, and the foremost in every foray." His surprises and baffling manoeuvres which inflicted serious reverses on the enemy and his headstrong valour and military talents immediately attracted the attention of Nanjiraj, and the all-power-

ful Nanjiraj rewarded Hyder Ali's valour by appointing him as the officer in charge of the principal gate of the conquered fortress. Next year, in defence of the Mysorian borders, Hyder again distinguished himself against the invading Marathas. The field of Trichinopalli, in the years 1750-52, offered yet another opportunity to Hyder Ali's military genius; he overshadowed the ability of the proudest of the rivals; and his merit and service were immediately recognised by his appointment to take charge of the important fortress of Dindigal, ceded by Mohammed Ali. Thereafter his rise was rapid from position to position, and his simple endearing habits made him a popular hero of the Mysorian army. His diet was coarse and frugal; his dress was simple, and he usually slept on the ground resting his head on his saddle. In 1758, the mutiny of the Mysorian army for arrears of pay threatened the Dalwai (Mysore ruler) Deo-Raj with imminent danger and the country with the perils of public tumult and uncontrollable disorders. The treasury was empty and the situation was highly explosive, grave and baffling. In the whole state, Hyder Ali alone could save the situation. By "means peculiarly his own," he settled their claims ; and his resourcefulnesses pacified the flaming passions. His upright service rescued the country from the calamity of a bloody revolution and won for Hyder Ali the unique recognition of the "general benefactor" of the country.

About the same time a fresh Maratha invasion exalted Hyder Ali to the zenith of his glory. With the perception and precaution of a great leader he had already fortified Seringapattam. His unsurpassing agility, quick military operations and unresistible attacks wholly unnerved the Marathas and reduced them to sue for retreat; and, as a result, the Marathas had even to renounce their claims on the Mysorian territories previously ceded to them. The fame of Hyder Ali spread far and wide, and after the splendid deliverance, the triumphant hero was received with great pomp in full darbar by the "Dalwai" and gratefully honoured with the title of "Bahadur."

In the heroic career that followed, Hyder Ali became the virtual master of Mysore and free from the chains of internal intrigue. He marched against and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Maratha Murari Rao. He penetrated into the West and annexed Bednur, Bellari, Sundra, Sera, Canara Guti and the territories stretching up to the Malabar coast; and many an independent chief felt him most daring and formidable and voluntarily yielded submission to Mysore. Within a short time of hardly three years, the indefatigable Hyder Ali extended the borders of Mysore to more than double of its area. But the most glorious actions of life which have bestowed upon Hyder Ali an immortal honour were the defeats he inflicted upon the usurpers.

The rapid rise of Hyder Ali displeased and alarmed the English

who saw, in the well-earned extension of Mysore, a dangerous menace to their intrigue and exploitation. Their jealousy and malice insultingly called Hyder Ali as the "Naik," but their hatred was the proof of their esteem and the merit of Hyder Ali. With the usual British tactics, jealousy and fears of the Marathas and of the Nizam (of Hyderabad) were inflamed and the result was a military alliance among the Marathas, the Nizam and the English. The triple alliance united the arms, resources and minds of the three powers in the cause of naked aggression to crush the Mysore ruler. But Hyder Ali was equal to the occasion. He bought off the Marathas who were the first to attack Mysore; a little later, the Nizam was also detached (through the influence of Mahfuz Khan, brother and rival of the pro-British Nawab Mohammed Ali of the Karnatak) who then joined Hyder Ali. However, soon afterwards in September 1767, amidst the thick of the war, the fickle-minded ally (the Nizam), as managed by the English, abandoned Hyder Ali, returned to his allegiance with the English, and, declaring Hyder a "rebel and usurper," agreed to assist the English and the Nawab of Karnatak "in chastising him."

But Hyder Ali was undeterred by the Nizam's desertion or his fresh alliance with the English and continued the war with his characteristic vigour. The swarms of the enemy, in the meantime, had burst upon Mysore from all sides. Bombay troops had occupied Mangalore and were intriguing with and inciting the neighbouring chiefs on Malabar coast to desert Hyder Ali and rise in revolt. With great promptitude, Hyder Ali flew to the scene of action (Manglore), crushed the English troops and recovered the city. The English garrison sent to feed the intrigue and insurrection was beaten into surrender; none was left to resist the vigorous action of Hyder Ali, and the coast was saved from and rid of the mean operations of the English intrigue. He then re-ascended the ghats to drive out the enemy who was planning an ascent of the Mysore plateau.

On June 8, an advance division, commanded by Colonel Donald Campbell, ascended the pass to Budikota, reduced Venkatagadi and thence opened out the pass leading to the vale of Velur. Campbell next bribed the Qiladar of the strong fort of Malwagal, one of the strongest in the country, and with the connivance of that traitor, took possession of it. Colonel Smith's main division then advanced and, joined by Colonel Campbell, took Baghir on June 28, and Hussur (Ossoor) on July 11. At this place the army halted, waiting for the recovery from sickness of Mohammed Ali, Nawab of Karnatak, for the appearance of Colonel Wood on the south-western surface of the plateau, and for the arrival of Murari Rao whose allegiance had been recently purchased. Murari joined with 3,000 horse and 2,000 irregular footmen on August 4. The very same day saw also Hyder Ali returning from his victorious expedition to the Western Coast and march into Bangalore.

Adopting the very same process of corruption, which Col. Campbell, the English general, had employed, Hyder Ali recovered the strong mountain fortress of Malwagal. The enemy was battered and driven from place to place; the frightful defeats and reverses caused universal confusion and spread terror of Hyder's arms. Smith flew to Madras for consultation and Wood was removed from the command (of the allied forces) and was replaced by Colonel Lang. Simultaneously Fazalullah Khan, Hyder's general, wiping off all resistance, in the meanwhile, burst upon the lowland country by the gateway of Coimbatore and, in November, forcing through the passes of Kaveripuram and Gujalhati, occupied Coimbatore on December 4. He defeated Captain Johnson and, driving him from place to place, stormed the gates of Trichinapalli. While Hyder Ali himself descended eastward by the passes of Pallikod and Tapur into Baramahal and pounced with irresistible vigour upon the fortifications of lowland regions. The activity of Hyder Ali seemed to multiply his presence. One after the other, the strong places fell "with a rapidity scarcely surpassed by that which characterised the yielding of the garrisons of the strong places of Prussia after the defeats of Jena and Auerstadt."[1]

Then "occurred an event previously unparalleled" in the history of English wars in India. On the march to Yirod, Hyder Ali intercepted, attacked and completely destroyed the English detachment sent from that place to secure supplies from Karur, and stormed Yirod with irresistible tempestuousity. Within twenty hours, the English flag came down and the English army laid down their arms and surrendered unconditionally.

In a space of barely six weeks, Hyder Ali had beaten the English and their allies out of his country and now he prepared to carry the war into the enemy's territory. The corps of Fazalullah were despatched to operate from Dindigal upon the provinces of Madura and Tinneveli, whilst, crossing the Kaveri, Hyder Ali himself directed his own march to the eastward, along the northern bank of that river (January 1769). While engaged in this march directing his main body to retire through the pass of Ahtur, appearing as if marching westward, Hyder Ali, with a select body of 6,000 horsemen and 2,000 of his choicest infantry, dashed at the Presidency town. Traversing 130 miles with great rapidity in three days and a half, he pitched his tents on March 29 within a striking distance of five miles from Madras. An awful consternation seized the Madras Council, the English nation fell prostrate and sued for peace. In the words of Col. Malleson, Hyder was "the master of the situation. The native town and the private houses of Madras were at his mercy. In the panic which his arrival had caused, the fort itself might have fallen. He

1. Col. Malleson.

was in a position to dictate his own terms and virtually he did dictate them."

But, unlike the usurpers, Hyder was generous; instead of destroying the enemy, he allowed the snake to live and grow for biting his son and successor, Tipu Sultan. Hyder Ali felt compensated and satisfied by annexing to his kingdom the fort of Karur and its districts ceded by the English; and the result was the Madras Treaty dictated by Hyder Ali and confirmed by oaths and seals on April 4, 1769. The treaty provided for exchange of prisoners, mutual restitution of conquests (except Karur and its districts held by Hyder Ali), and a defensive alliance, of mutual help in case a party to the treaty was attacked by another power.

The Madras treaty established the supremacy of Hyder Ali in the South and showed that the Indian princes still could drive the English out of the country. In fact the history of India would have been different if one or more of the Indian rulers had joined hands with Hyder Ali or followed his footsteps.

Smarting under the Madras blow, the English appealed to the god of intrigue to retrieve their mortification and disgrace. With the usual manoeuvrings characteristic of the British nation, they secretly prompted a Maratha invasion on the Mysore territories in 1771. However, the evil had had a blessing too. Hyder Ali invoked the English aid promised under the Madras treaty; but the English had as usual pledged themselves simply to betray. The aid was refused and their dishonest breach of faith unmasked the great truth to Hyder Ali that the English were not a nation who could be bound down by any undertakings, by treaties or by solemn oaths.

In 1778 war broke out between the French and the English and the English, disdaining the warning of the Mysore ruler, captured the undefended Mahi, a possession of Hyder Ali on Western Coast, and purposely violated the neutrality of the Mysore kingdom. But Hyder Ali was not a man to brook an insult and submit to an outrage on his territory; at once he resolved to defend and was soon involved in a war. Col. Malleson relates: "Of all the wars undertaken against the foreigner in southern India, this was the most popular. For its success fervent prayers were offered alike in the mosques of the Muhammadans and the temples of the Hindus. The inhabitants of the villages through which his army passed turned out to help the national leader, to invoke for him the protection of Heaven. In the person of Haider were concentrated the hopes of the populations of Southern India." And "never did rapacity," in the words of Malleson, "met with a prompter punishment."

"Like an avalanche," Hyder Ali descended from the plateau; the English, unable to check his advance, flew before his rapid marches; and the enemy was driven out of the Mysore territory. Hyder Ali carried war into the enemy's house, overran their provinces. There he established his headquarters at Kanchipurram, forty-two

miles from Madras. The campaign that followed "witnessed incomparable deeds of valour and military genius of Hyder Ali. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle," his enemies felt and admired the military talents of the Mysore ruler. Col. Malleson writes: "The left of the English force was at Kanchipurram; its right at Parmbakam, with Haider between the two, ready to fall upon the left a moment it should show the smallest indication to assist the right, round which Tipu Sahib was hovering. Haider had, in fact, executed one of those manoeuvres which twenty-four years later were to characterise the first campaign of the greatest general (Napolean) the world has ever seen!"

A crushing defeat was inflicted on Col. Baille, who was made a prisoner. Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-Chief, "the victor and hero of Buxar," was beaten at Chengalputt and he flew for life to the Fort St. George. Arkat, garrisoned by strong English troops, was invested on September 19 and it fell on November 3; Ambur surrendered on January 13; while the sieges of Velore, of Parmakot, of Chanyalputt and of Wandiwash resulted in suspension of the Governor of Madras, and change of the command from Munro's hand to that of Sir Eyre Cootes. Hastings' vigorous intrigues detached the Raja of Bern, Mahadaj Sindhia and the Nizam from the alliance with Hyder Ali. But Hyder Ali could not be daunted or affected by those desertions. Sindhia and the Nizam in fact were merely spectators with their moral sympathies secretly engaged against Hyder Ali. The Mysore ruler continued the war with his usual firmness. He pursued Coote who had marched towards Parmkol; and on this pursuit, he learnt on January 25 that "a French fleet, commanded by the Chevalier D'Orves, had been sighted near Gudalur (Cuddalore)." This raised his hopes "to the highest degree. Whilst he should sever Coote's communications with Madras, the fleet would blockade the coast; and Coote, shut out from the grain-producing country, would be starved into surrender."[1]

Whilst Hyder and his French allies were carrying out this plan "with great skill, Coote was marching," Malleson writes, "further and further into the trap. On the 8th February Haider having made, as though he would attempt Gudalur, Coote, thoroughly taken in, moved with his whole army to cover that important place. This movement enabled Haider to seize a strong position which quite severed his enemy from Madras. In Gudalur itself there were but three days' supply of food. Both the rival leaders could see the French fleet, unthreatened, guarding the coast. In vain did Coote offer battle to the Maisur (Mysore) chief. Haider was content to occupy an unassailable position which barred Coote from the grain-producing country. Coote himself recognised all the danger of his position, the fault he had committed in allowing himself to be severed

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1. Col. Malleson, *Decisive Battles of India.*

from his base. Unless supplies could reach him, he knew that he was lost. But as long as Haider and the French should maintain their respective positions, no supplies could reach him. Haider maintained his. But from some cause, to this day unexplained, D'Orves was false alike to his reputation and to his country. In another work I have dwelt at some length on the crime perpetrated by a Government which commits the command of its fleets to men deficient in decision and nerve. Never had France such an opportunity of revenging herself for the defeats of Dupleix and Lally. There was no doubt about the issue. D'Orves had only to remain off the coast to see the last army possessed by the English starved into surrender. Haider, in constant communication with him, pressed him to remain if only for a week longer; or, at all events, to land the one French regiment he had on board. D'Orves would do neither. On the 15th February, to the intense relief of Sir Eyre Coote, and to the indignation of Haider, he bore away for the islands. The English at once obtained supplies from Madras."[1]

"Five weary months," Malleson relates, "then elapsed; Coote, to a certain extent blockaded at Gudalur, forced to look to the sea for his supplies; Haider watching him, and whilst watching him, obtaining the surrender of many of the strong places behind him. At last, on the 16th June Coote, realising that the only possible mode of retrieving his position was to force an action on his wary enemy, quitted Gudalur, crossed the river Vallar on the 18th, and that night attempted to surprise and storm the strongly-fortified pagoda of Chelambram. Haider's garrison, however, composed of nearly 3,000 good troops, repulsed the English sipahis with serious loss, and even captured one of the enemy guns. Baffled in this quarter, Coote drew off his army in the night, and, after a hesitation which lasted four days, recrossed the Vallar, and encamped near Porto Novo, a village on its northern bank, close to the sea and only seven miles from Chelambram, which place he at once made preparations, in concert with Admiral Hughes, to besiege."

At Porto Novo a stray ball killed Mir Sahib, one of Hyder's best officers in charge of his left wing. This caused a sudden panic; and as a result Hyder Ali withdrew his army by a few yards. This was the only reverse that Hyder Ali even suffered. "However the English lost 306, and gained, as Malleson puts, "only the ground on which they had fought." But the withdrawal saved the mushroom kingdom of the British Imperialism as Hyder was not destined to fight any longer. The fatal effects of cancer resulted in his exit from this world at an advanced and ripe age of 70 on December 7, 1782.

The ungrateful enemy, whom Hyder Ali had so often vanquished, have all along exercised a base and impotent revenge in publishing dishonest lies against the hero; and ignorance has long repeated the

1. Malleson, *Decisive Battles of India.*

tale of calumny which has disfigured the character and greatness of Hyder Ali

Tipu Sultan

Tipu, "as brave and warlike as his father," now succeeded to the throne of Mysore. A "remarkable personality in Indian history," a "valiant soldier," a "tactful general," Tipu Sultan is described as "a diplomat of no mean order." He possessed "a sound moral character, free from the prevailing vices of his class, an able and industrious ruler." The discovery and study of Sultan's Shringhari Letters, which have exposed the malicious lies and dishonesty of Wilks' accounts, have proved that there would be few men who had been as much maligned and maliciously misrepresented as Tipu Sultan. His only faults were the defeats he and his father had inflicted on the English and that he "placed independence above everything else" and even lost his life "in preserving it."

Tipu carried on the war with the vigour of his father. He had already defeated the English army under Col. Braith-Waite. Now he captured Brigadier Matthews, deputed by the Bombay Government and appointed to the supreme command, with all his troops.

The war continued with varying fortunes for fifteen months, and eventually ended in the "Treaty of Mangalur," concluded on March 11, 1784. This treaty stipulated for the restitution of all places, including Mahi, and the liberation of all prisoners, taken by both parties.

The great British Imperialism thus stood greatly disgraced and discredited; the usurpers chaffed under the humiliation of the defeats and their revenge nursed up a deep and implacable resentment against Mysore ruler. Tipu Sultan was the only Indian prince whom they dreaded and against whose life they prayed and conspired; the mean attempts to employ poison and engage an assassin failed; nor could the "great Englishmen" with all their might and vast resources at any time exhibit the daring to attack Mysore single-handed. Their hope rested only in intrigue and in the neighbouring Indian princes; their ceaseless intriguing once again pulled the Marathas and the Nizam into a fresh "vicious confederacy." Wellesley committed his government to give the Peshawa and Nizam a share in the conquests of the war. The tempest of their arms burst on the head of Tipu in 1799. The encircling aggressors, with a concerted action launched their unprovoked invasion on Mysore in March 1799 from three directions. But still they trusted more to perfidy than to their arms; and employed perfidy as the most serviceable instrument. The ambition of Mir Sadiq, Tipu Sultan's revenue and finance minister, was purchased; the result was irretrievable disaster for Mysore. Fort after fort fell and town after town surrendered; the encircled Sultan was at length enclosed in his capital. He fought heroically in the defence of his country and of his freedom like a great warrior and a spirited patriot and gallantly died fighting against the enemy, under the walls of Seringapattam, wept by his subjects and feared by his

enemies. And the distress and fall of Tipu Sultan are far more glorious than the hundred-and-fifty-year wicked rule of the British.

The fall of Mysore broke the back of India; and then it remained a question of choose, pick and finish for the English wolves as to the remaining Indian princes and rulers.

Hastings was recalled in 1882, and the resolution of his recalling, passed by the Board of the Directors which furnishes another undying testimony to Hastings' atrocities, records that "he (Hastings) brought great calamities in India and enormous expenses on the Company."

The intrigues initiated by Clive and Hastings worked their ways on and on, till the vast regions of India one after the other fell under the sway of the usurpers. The break to expansion in the North was forced only in 1841 when bribe failed to tempt, fraud failed to outwit the self-respecting Akbar Khan[1] and the intrigue recoiled on the fiendish nation with unforgettable reverses.

In 1826, Dost Mohammed, a rugged, and self-reliant soldier, and an able member of the Barakzai clan, seized the throne of Kabul with a hearty welcome of the people of Afghanistan. He frustrated the attempt of Shah Shuja in 1833 to regain Kabul with Ranjit Singh's support which he had purchased with the famous Koh-i-Nur diamond; but a little later Peshawar was lost to the Sikhs by the perfidy of Sultan Mohammed—brother of Dost Mohammed. The rage of Dost Mohammed against the Sikhs was impotent; the fear of the advancing armies of Russia from the North and of Persia's threat from the West, and troubles created by one of his brothers at Herat could permit him no action against the Sikh aggressors. Dost Mohammed was beset with dangers on all sides: "On the north there were revolts in Balkh; on the south one of his brothers was holding out against him at Kandhar; on the east he was harassed by Ranjit Singh at Peshawar, with Shah Shuja and the British Government in the background; on the west there was Mahmud Shah and Kamran at Herat, with Persia plotting behind and Russia lurking in the distance." Under the stress of the circumstances Dost Mohammed was anxious for friendship with the English. Thus after the arrival of Auckland, as the Governor-General of India in India in March 1836, Dost Mohammed sent him a congratulatory letter in the month of May and sought British help against the Sikhs and Persia and on his part offered to resist all "Russian intrigues" and remain a firm ally of the British Government. But the Governor-General, who considered the able and firm ruler in Dost Mohammed a grave danger, conveyed to the Amir that "it had never been the custom" of the British Govern-

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1. Secret negotiations were opened up with some of the treacherous Afghan chiefs to see if they could be bribed to take the side of the English and abandon the national cause and Dost Mohammed. To Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, the envoy offered the sum of £300,000, a pension of £400,000, and to make him Prime Minister if he would yet stay his hand and support the still reigning sovereign Shah Shuja." [R.W. Frazer, *British India*, 4th Ed. (1908) p. 230].

ment "to interfere in the affairs of other States."

Disappointed in securing British friendship, Dost Mohammed received with warm welcome the Russian envoy Viktevitch who had been hitherto treated "in a scurvy and discouraging manner." Auckland considered the time opportune for planting the British intrigue in the bosom of the Afghan country; accordingly, the reception of the Russian envoy by the Afghan ruler was treated as an "act of hostility" and a "sufficient cause" to invite the exercise of the British arms. It was at once decided that Dost Mohammed should be deposed and that a king friendly to the English be placed on the Afghan throne. Such a king was found in Shah Shuja who had been driven out from Afghanistan by his own people, and now resided at Ludhiana a pensioner of the East India Company; and he was willing to promise all things, to remain a firm ally of the English, to banish the Russians, and to leave Peshawar safe in the grasp of Ranjit Singh.

Auckland, who had so recently pleaded the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of other states when Dost Mohammed solicited British help for recovery of Peshawar from the Sikhs, now felt no scruple in taking steps to depose Dost Mohammed and to restore the exiled Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul with the help of Ranjit Singh. He sent Macnaghten, his Secretary, to Lahore and a Tripartite Treaty was signed between Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh and the English on June 26, 1838. On October 1, 1838, the Governor-General issued from Simla a proclamation announcing that the supreme council had directed assemblage of a British force "for service beyond the Indus, in order to gain for the British nation in Central Asia that legitimate influence which an intercharge of benefits would naturally produce" and a manifesto by way of an official justification of the intended war, in which, as Herbert Edwardes writes, "the views and conduct of Dost Mohammad were misrepresented with a hardihood which a Russian statesman might have envied." "Lies were heaped upon lies" in the Simla manifesto. The Governor-General's remark about Dost Mohammed's "unprovoked attack upon our ancient ally" has been aptly compared by Trotter "for truthfulness with the wolf's complaint in the fable against the lamb."

Auckland's policy was indefensible from all points of view. As an independent ruler of Afghanistan Dost Mohammed had every right to enlist Perso-Russian alliance on his side. It should also be noted that Dost Mohammed decided to accept Perso-Russian alliance after the failure of his efforts to secure British friendship. "We had ourselves," observes Kaye justly, "alienated the friendship of the Barakzye Sirdars. They had thrown themselves into the arms of the Persian King only because we had thrust them off." Further, the poor excuse of Perso-Russian aggression as a danger to British interests ceased to have any force whatsoever after the withdrawal of the Persians from Herat in September 1838; this "cut from under the feet of Lord Auckland all grounds of justification and rendered the

expedition across the Indus at once a folly and a crime."

Under Cotton, a strong army of 50,000, with Shah Shuja, advanced from Ferozepur and crossed the Indus at Rohri; while Sir John Keane, with 15,600 men from Bombay, advanced along the Indus to join the main body as the "ancient and faithful ally," Ranjit Singh, refused to allow a large force to pass through his dominions towards the direct route to Afghanistan by way of the Khyber Pass. As the invading army passed through Sind, its Amirs were reduced to submission and made to pay tribute, the Political Agent having been directed to inform them that, if they resisted, "neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them, nor the will to call it into action were wanting." The Sikh army, accompanied by Colonel Wade and Shah Shuja's son, Timur, marched from the Punjab through Peshawar and the Khyber Pass.

The invaders at first gained successes. Under the supreme command of Sir John Keane, they occupied Qandhar in April 1839. On May 8, Shah Shuja was paraded through the streets of Qandhar at the head of the combined British troops "to receive the homage of his wondering subjects who turned away in sullen indifference from their new king, those alone remaining whom British gold had won, or hopes of future favours held subservient."[1] Ghazni was stormed on July 23, and Kabul fell into their hands on August 3, 1839, after Dost Mohammed had evacuated it. Shah Shuja, "brilliantly arrayed and decked with jewels, was led on a white charger through the bazars of Kabul, where the people rose not to Salaam before him, but sat scowling beneath their shaggy eyebrows at the foreigners who had come to seek out the secrets of their homes and rule them with a rod of iron."[2] "It was," remarks Kaye, "more like a funeral procession than the entry of the King into the capital of his restored dominions." "To conciliate the fierce Pathan hill robbers of the passes lying between Kabul and the Punjab," writes Frazer, "a yearly subsidy was promised to them by the British envoy, while the Ghilzai tribesmen an annual allowance of £3,000 was meted out in order to induce them to abstain from raiding the convoys travelling to and from Ghazni and Kandhar." For a while the British arms seemed to have received additional lustre. But by the end of the year 1841, "that lustre, such as it was, had been lamentably besmirched." The winter passed away in ominous quiet. Peace "seemed assured," writes Frazer, "from the Indus to the Oxus. Shah Shuja listened with becoming submission to the advice of Sir William Macnaghten, the British envoy, while Dr. Lord ruled and raided the chieftains round Bamian, beyond the Hindu Kush, as though he were king over the lands of the weak Shah. Wise men had declared before the war began that the difficulties would only commence when the army had

1. R. W. Frazer.
2. Ibid.

fully occupied the land, and that not a man would return alive to tell the tale of Afghan treachery and vengeance."

Restored by the British arms and Sikh help, the cowardly Shah Shuja, instead of evoking the support of the people, wounded their patriotic feelings and provoked the national aversion. A fierce "rage daily burned in the hearts of the tribes, as the hated invaders wandered through their villages, and passed down their streets, treating with haughty contempt their jealous looks, and they swore that not an invader would leave the country alive."[1] Serious dangers were lurking in the situation; but Sir Alexander Burnes, confident of the success of the English deceit and fraud, carried on his intrigues in the "midst of bitter foes, who met nightly to discuss how they might avenge the insults he had showered on them.

On the 1st of November, 1841, Macnaghten wrote that all was well, and that "the land was perfectly quiet from Don to Beersheba." But very next day "Sudden and swift as a raging cyclonic storm the devious course of the pent-up fury of the Afghan race burst on the guilty and innocent alike. No pen has dared to fully tell the tale of insult the Afghans may have had to avenge; the terrible vengeance they poured forth on the invaders of their land and homes will ever overshadow and obliterate the memory of the acts and deeds they so savagely and indiscriminately punished." Alexander Burnes was pulled out from his fortified house along with Broadfoot and both were murdered. "Burnes and his brother, disguised as natives, essayed to escape unnoticed through the surrounding crowd, but as they stole out they were cut to pieces by the cruel, sharp, heavy knives. Shah Shuja's sepoy guards tried to make their way through the streets, where they were fired at from the housetops and forced to retreat. From the city, where the Treasury and house of Burnes were in flames, guns opened fire on the King's palace. George Lawrence, who rode to the King for orders, was cut at by an Afghan, his escort was wounded, and he had to flee for his life. Captain Stuart of the Engineers, son-in-law of Sir Robert Sale, was knived at the palace gates." The invaders reaped a fearful fruit of their savage atrocities. Panic ran through the cantonments and an indescribable consternation seized the "brave" Englishmen. In the cantonments Macnaghten turned almost mad, while Brigadier Shelton declared his "belief that there was no hope for the army of occupation but instant flight from the land so full of ill-fate to the British. The day wore on and nothing was done. Inaction was followed by despondency, soon to give way to sullen indifference. The fort holding the supplies, stores, and provisions for the occupation army was abandoned to the enemy. The Afghans picked off the garrison with unerring aim, firing from rests their long Jazails or guns, which carried further than the English muskets. There was no course open to the envoy but to make the

1. R. W. Frazer.

best terms he could with the enemy and secure his retreat to India."

On December 11, Macnaghten concluded a humiliating treaty with Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammed's son, whereby he promised to give back to the chiefs their chosen king Dost Mohammed and to abandon Shah Shuja if the British army were allowed to march in safety out of Afghanistan. But the Englishman, like his forefathers, swore only to betray. Within a few days "secret negotiations were opened up with some of the treacherous Ghilzai and Qizilbashi Afghan chiefs to see if they could be bribed to take the side of the English and abandon the national cause and Dost Mohammed. To Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, the envoy offered the sum of £300,000, a pension of £400,000, and to make him Prime Minister if he would yet stay his hand and support the still reigning sovereign, Shah Shuja." The wicked envoy was paid in his own coin by the superior talents of the self-respecting son of Dost Mohammed. Akbar Khan feigned "to agree to all and inveigled Macnaghten into an interview on the neighbouring slopes of the Siya Sang hills, where the new treaty might in secret be ratified. On December 23, Macnaghten, with George Lawrence, Captain Colin Mackenzie, and Captain Trevor, rode forth to meet Akbar Khan, who sat waiting on a mound about two hundred yards from the cantonments, surrounded by his chieftains." As they drew near Akbar Khan seized Macnaghten by the left wrist; the envoy struggled and cried out, "For the love of God!" With a sharp retort from Akbar: "Is it for the same love of God that you invaded our country and despoiled our homes. You forget the same love of God when you rob others of their freedom and enslave their country," the envoy was hewn to pieces, and his head "was carried to Kabul, paraded through the city, and then hung up in the market-place for the crowd to jeer at. Lawrence and Mackenzie were seized and carried away on horseback. Trevor was cut down as he attempted to escape. The garrison watched the affray from the cantonments, in their consternation crowding round Macnaghten's escort as it rode back, to learn full details of the disaster. The cry was for an immediate retreat on Jalalabad, where Sir Robert Sale was entrenched. On New Year's Day of 1842 all the enemy's demands were acceded to. Hostages were given for the immediate evacuation of the country." The spare guns, arms, and ammunition were surrendered, the army retaining only six field-pieces. All the money in the military chest was paid over to the Afghan chiefs, and a further sum of 6½ lakhs of rupees was promised "when the retreating force was again safe on India's soil."[1]

On January 6, the "crouching, drooping and dispirited" British troops and camp-followers, 26,500 men in all, set out on their return journey towards India, struggling through the stinging snow of the winter and a constant shower of bullets from the Afghans. Within a

1. R. W. Frazer.

few days the women and children and some officers, including Pottinger, Lawrence and Elphinstone, were given to Akbar Khan as hostages. But the slaughter of British troops continued and, on January 10, only about a quarter of the force was left." In the pithy phrase of Roberts, "the retreat became a rout, the rout a massacre." "Thus considerably thinned, the retiring troops made the last desperate stand at the Pass of Jagdalak ont he 11th January only to lose twelve of their officers. Of the 26,500 men that had started from Kabul a week before, all were destroyed excepting 120 prisoners under Akbar Khan, and only one, Dr. Brydon, reached Jalalabad, to narrate the painful story of the tragic retreat."[1]

For the first time during their long career of aggression, the usurpers acknowledged the unjustness of their violence and invasion on a neighbouring country and richly merited the "tremendous Nemesis" which overtook it. Kaye observes: ". . . .the wisdom of our statesmen is but foolishness, and the might of our armies is but weakness when the curse of God is sitting heavily upon an unholy cause."[2] The retributive justice cost Auckland his viceregal throne; and in view of the "overwhelming disaster," the new Viceroy, Lord Ellenborough, expressed himself in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, written on March 15, 1842, that the British Government would no longer "peril its armies and, with its armies, the Indian Empire" to support the Tripartite Treaty, but "would aim at the establishment of its military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans." But that resolution too vanished on receipt of the intelligence of General England's defeat at Hakalzai and Palmer's surrender of Ghazni, and immediate withdrawal of the British troops that still remained in Afghanistan was at once ordered without "thinking any longer of reprisals" or of "getting released the prisoners."

The returning army, as per instructions of Lord Ellenborough, brought with it the "so-called gates of Somnath," which Sultan Mahmud was supposed to have carried off in the eleventh century; and it was welcomed by the Governor-General at Ferozepore with "triumphal arches and histrionic paeans of victory." In a proclamation issued from Simla on October 10, Ellenborough again denounced in a strong language the policy of his predecessor and expressed his willingness "to recognise any government approved by the Afghans themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring States," and with this vanished for ever the British ambition of annexing Afghanistan as a part of the British Empire. In another bombastic proclamation, addressed to the princes, chiefs and the peoples of India, the Governor-General announced: "Our victorious army bears the gates

1. R. W. Frazer.
2. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (4th Ed. 1878), Vol. III.

of the temple of Somnath in triumph from Afghanistan and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmood looks upon the ruins of Ghaznee. The insult of 800 years is avenged."

The foolishness and uselessness of the second proclamation could hardly be doubted. "The folly of the thing," observes Kaye, "was past all denial. It was a folly, too, of the most senseless kind, for it was calculated to please none and to offend many." It wounded "the feelings of the Muslims; while the Hindus were indifferent about the gates, which, as the antiquarians rightly held, had been built much later than the eleventh century of no wood more precious than deal or deodar."

However, the truth is that the disaster had no lesson for the wicked nation. Ellenborough avenged in Sind the mortification suffered in Afghanistan. The journey of Alexander Burnes, in 1831, the river Indus on his way to Lahore had disclosed to the English the importance, both political and commercial, of Sind to the English; and since then this province also had become a theatre of the British intrigue. On April 20, 1832, the Amirs of Sind were cajoled or forced to a treaty with the British Government, which provided that "the rivers and roads" of Sind should be opened to the "merchants and traders of Hindoostan," but that no "military stores" and "armed vessels or boats" should "come through these." As a sort of precaution against the apprehended absorption of their territory by the British, the Amirs took care to include another stipulation to the effect that "the two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." By the instruments of intrigue and coercion, this treaty was amended on April 20, 1838, whereby an "accredited British Resident" was imposed upon the unwilling and apprehensive Amirs. On the outbreak of the First Anglo-Afghan War, the English, in flagrant violation of the treaty of 1832, moved their armed forces through Sind, and knavishly informed the helpless Amirs that "while the present exigency lasts. . . .the article of the treaty (of 1832) prohibiting the use of the Indus for the conveyance of military stores must necessarily be suspended." Yet a greater humiliation followed in 1838 when Auckland demanded from them "a heavy sum as a price for unsolicited British mediation in effecting an uncalled-for commutation of the supposed pecuniary demands of Shah Shuja on Sind." They were warned that the British Government had the "power to crush and annihilate them, and will. . . .not hesitate to call it into action, should it appear requisite, however remotely, for either the integrity or safety of the Empire, or its frontiers." The unfortunate Amirs were left with no option but to submit to the Governor-General's extortion. A little later, the threat of Sir John Keane's march on the capital of Sind compelled them to accept fresh terms from Auckland in February 1839, whereby they were bound down to maintain a British force in their territories and to pay a sum of three lacs of rupees per annum

for maintenance thereof. "British protection" was thus in flicted upon the unhappy province.

During the time of the Afghan War, the province was utilised as a base for the British operations and the Amirs in spite of provocations stuck steadfastly loyal to their engagements. But their attachment was rewarded by despatch of British forces under Charles Napier to work up "the theory that the annexation of Sind would be a very beneficent piece of rascality for which it was his business to find an excuse, a robbery to be plausibly effected." After reaching Sind, Napier wrote in his Diary, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be." Napier forced his way by his interference in a succession dispute of Khairpur and offered new terms requiring the Amirs to cede certain important territories in lieu of the tribute of three lacs of rupees and to give up the right of coining money. He had no patience even to wait for acceptance of his terms; while talking of peace and treaties, he forcibly occupied those territories and sought to intimidate the Amirs, by marching upon Imamgarh, a famous desert fortress lying between Khairpur and Hyderabad, without formally declaring a war, and destroying it early in January 1843. These wicked robberies provoked the intended excitement of the warlike Baluchis, who amidst confusion attacked the British Residency on February 15, 1843. War was now declared. The Amirs were betrayed on February 17, at Miani, a few miles from Hyderabad, into a surrender. Napier occupied Mirpur on March 27, Amarkot on April 4, and conveyed the news of "his victory" to Ellenborough in the punning message, "Peccavi," i.e. "I have Sinned." Sind was formally annexed to the British Empire in August 1843; and Napier was granted £70,000 as his share of the spoils.

Strangely enough, the Court of Directors, while condemning the policy of annexing Sind, did nothing to undo the wrong. On the contrary, Napier was appointed the first Governor of Sind. "If the Afghan episode," observes Innes, "is the most disastrous in our annals, that of Sind is morally even less excusable."

CHAPTER VI

THE RUIN

Christianity, Its Propagation by Superstition, Woman and Sword—Conversion of Constantine, Persecution of Roman Religion and Greek Philosophy, Rule of Bigotry and Fanaticism, Pernicious Influence of Clergy, Persecution of His Successors—Total Extermination of Non-Christians and Old Relics—Persecution of Jews.

A New Religion, Islam—A Campaign of Vilification against Islam—Storm of Crusades—Christianity in Example—Survival of the Spirit of Crusades—No Faith with Non-Christians—Battle of Varna—The Ruin—Economic Ruin, Confiscations and Seizures, State-service, Education.

Christianity: Its Propagation by Superstition, Woman and Sword

A DISPASSIONATE survey of the progress of the Christian religion at once leads us to the fact that Christianity owes its establishment, growth and propagation to superstition, woman and sword. A dark veil hangs over the first age of new religion and the Church; and the scanty and legendary material, which spins up the ecclesiastical history of the time, immediately introduces us to the reign of Constantine, the Roman Emperor. Constantine had imbued his hands in the blood of his eldest son, the illustrious Crispus; and shadows of the innocent prince unceasingly haunted the infirm mind of the cruel murderer and allowed him no peace. The gods of Rome and of his ancestors could afford no refuge to the guilty conscience while mere surrender to the yoke of the new religion, according to the historian Zosimus, immediately offered to wash away the blood-stains of a convert. The afflicted mind of the superstitious emperor, decided upon Christianity as religion for Constantine; and in his anxiety to deserve the pardon and mercy of the Heaven, the repentant ruler seated the zeal and the fanaticism of the clergy on the throne of the Roman Empire. The irresistible power of the Roman emperor was soon displayed in extirpation of the ancient religions of Rome and Greece which were contemptuously branded by the Christians as "Paganism," and "Pagan Superstition." Temples of the old faiths were ruthlessly destroyed; their properties zealously confiscated and devoted to the revenues of the Church and "Pagan worship" was "sternly" suppressed. Gibbon writes: "The partial acts of severity which he (Constantine) exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a Christian zeal, were coloured by the fairest pretences of justice and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin

Conversion of Constantine

the foundations he seemed to reform the abuses of the ancient religion. He condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination, which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phoenicia. The imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity; the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying, at once, their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment."[1]

"The sons of Constantine," relates Gibbon, "trod in the footsteps of their father with more zeal and with less discretion. The pretences of rapine and oppression were insensibly multiplied; every indulgence was shown to the illegal behaviour of the Christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of Paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constans and Constantius. The name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law, which might have superseded the necessity of any future prohibitions. 'It is our pleasure that in all places, and in all cities, the temples be immediately shut and carefully guarded, that none may have the power of offending. It is likewise our pleasure that all our subjects should be guilty of such an act, let him feel the sword of vengeance, and, after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties against the governors of the provinces, if they neglect to punish the criminals.' "[2]

Intolerant Christianity and the Rule of Fanatics

"Future tyrants" were encouraged "to believe that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration." From the time "that Christianity was invested with the supreme power, the governors of the Church have been no less diligently employed in displaying the cruelty, than in imitating the conduct of their Pagan adversaries"[1]; and the terrors of "a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the pagans."

Describing the atrocities committed by the zeal and fanaticism

1. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. II.
2. Ibid.

of the "Saint" Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, Gibbon relates: "He (Cyril) soon prompted, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes (Roman prefect of Alexandria). Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the mathematician, was initiated in her father's studies; her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus; and she publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld with a jealous eye the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumour was spread among the Christians that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the prefect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics; her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells, and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by seasonable gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria."[1]

The "pious task of destruction of 'Paganism,' " undertaken by Constantine, was at length accomplished by the fanatical zeal of Theodosius. "The ruin of Paganism," writes Gibbon, "in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition, and may therefore deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their Imperial proselytes."[2] The fanaticism of Theodosius attacked without mercy the ancient religion, in the provinces of the East and his stern edicts of proscription, enforced by the authority of the sword, wiped out within a few years the Roman civilisation and the hereditary religion of the empire. "The success of his first experiments," in the words of Gibbon, "against the Pagans encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and

1. *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. V.
2. Ibid., Vol. III.

enforce his edicts of proscription: the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the East were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the Western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith. He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims, every subsequent explanation tended to involve in the same guilt the general practice of immolation, which essentially constituted he religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the Praetorian prefect of the East, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the West, by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army. Here the desolation might have stopped: and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Gracian architecture: and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possession. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain, as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. But as long as they subsisted, the Pagans fondly cherished the secret hope that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods; and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition; but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours, marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese; and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus, as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. . . .The temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judi-

ciously converted into a Christian church; and a similar consecretion has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome. But in almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those barbarians who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction."

"Yet more pitiable was the fate of the world-famous temple of Serapis at Alexandria. At that time the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus, 'the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood.'"[1] "His pious indignation," writes Gibbon, "was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bachhu convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius, who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. These Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies and a resolute defence. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the Imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians sent up a shout of joy and exultation, whilst the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable that he was obliged to leave the foundations, and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away, to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and nearly twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice. The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or

1. Gibbon, Vol. III.

the avarice of the archbishop might have been satiated with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory."

So rapid was "the fall of the ancient religion," that "only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the Legislature."

The reign of Justinian was also a "uniform yet various scene of persecution; and he appears to have surpassed, both in the contrivance of his laws and the vigour of their execution." A secret remnant of "pagans" "who still lurked in the most refined and most rustic conditions of mankind, excited the indignation of the Christians, who were perhaps unwilling that any strangers should be the witnesses of their internecine quarrels. A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered, in the court and city, the magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between the displeasure of Jupiter or Justinian, and that their aversion to the gospel could no longer be disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Photius perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors; he enfranchised himself, with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation of exposing with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and laboured, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt, of idolatry. The native country of Homer, and the theatre of the Trojan war, still retained the last sparks of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria; ninety-six Churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, Bibles and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver were supplied by the pious munificence of Justinian. . . .The Jews, who had been gradually stripped of their immunities, were oppressed by a vexatious law, which compelled them to observe the festival of Easter the same day on which it was celebrated by the Christians. And they might complain with the more reason, since the Catholics themselves did not agree with the astronomical calculations of their sovereign; the people of Constantinople delayed the beginning of their Lent a whole week after it had been ordained by authority; and they had the pleasure of fasting seven days, while meat was exposed for sale by the command of the emperor. The Samaritans of Palestine were a motely race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolators. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Garizim, but the persecution of Justinian offered only the

Extermination of old relics

alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter: under the standard of a desperate leader those rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war, which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers."[1]

Success of Sword and Fanaticism in France and Germany

The Franks and Saxons of France and Germany submitted to the yoke of Christianity, by the "fortunate alliance" of Clovis with the niece of the King of Burgundy, the fair Clotilda, who had been educated in the profession of the Catholic faith. "It was her interest as well her duty," as Gibbon puts, "to achieve the conversion of a Pagan husband; and Clovis insensibly listened to voice of love and religion." In the distress of the battle of Tolbiac, "superstition of Clovis invoked the God of Clotilda" and the victory decided in favour of Christianity as the religion for the King and his Franks. Clovis was flattered and received by the clergy with the title of "New Constantine," and the zeal of the bishop, Remigins, "supported by the sword of Clovis established the religion of Christ in the vast regions of France and Germany."

Christianity in Russia

As regards Russia, Gibbon relates: "A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death and assume the sceptre of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople. In the sacrament of baptism she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels of a higher and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient

1. Gibbon, ***Decline and Fall of Roman Empire,*** Vol. V.

worship." Christianity was ridiculed and condemned by her own children as a "foreign superstition," till "Wolodomir's desire for a Roman bride determined his conversion and seated Christianity on the throne of Russia." The Pontiff of Cherson arranged the alliance of the "Pagan" with the sister of the emperor Basil, and the invisible chains of irresistible love hastened to celebrate the baptism of the royal bridegroom. Immediately "an edict of Wolodomir proclaimed that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were constantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation the relics of paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament."[1]

Sins of Jews: Their Horrible Persecution

At the same time, sword or baptism had been offered to the infidel Jewish race whose sins or crimes were many and diverse; their unyielding assertion that a sexual intercourse was but inevitable for the conception of a child insulted the virginity of the Holy Mary and disgraced the birth of Jesus as a fruit of carefree efforts of his "unmarried mother"; nor did they acknowledge the myths of "voluntary abasement" of the son of God; they rejected the supernatural union of a "woman and god" and of a "man and God," and also rejected the tale of "son of God" descending in the form of a dove and inhabiting in the mind of the man Christ and directing his actions, as a piece of "pious mimicry"; the "Holy Trinity" and "Trinity worship" looked absurd superstition to the Jewish reasoning; Jesus neither married nor lived to earn a man's living and nor experienced the complex bitterness of life; he left behind no example, and could prescribe no code of morals to guide the footsteps of the suffering humanity. The Christian laws were what the interest or fanaticism of the clergy enacted from time to time. The "choosen people" gave further provocation by claiming to possess a superior god, a superior prophet and a superior though unsocial civilisation. Above all they were responsible for hanging of the son of God, and persecuted the Christians before Christianity ascended to the throne of the Roman Empire as the state religion. The rage of the clergy was not idly wasted; and the death of Christ was revenged beyond measure. The slaughter at Alexandria would serve a suitable illustration of the universal outrage to which the Jews were exposed in the Christian empires. "The toleration, and even the privileges of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand," writes Gibbon, "were secured by the laws of the Caesars

1. *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. V.

and Ptolemies," and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation."

A New Religion—Islam

About four centuries after the clergy had shaped the religion of Christianity, moulded and settled the thoughts, habits and actions of the Christians, and exercised an unbridled sway over the Christendom, a new religion, Islam, introduced into the world a new and thrilling revolution. The Jewish faith had been condemned by the Christian enthusiasts as being unsocial and confined to a single people. But the new religion uprooting the distinctions of caste and colour, race and country, offered to the world a mission of peace, a universal fraternity, and equality of mankind. The mysteries of the "Trinity and Incarnation" introduce three equal deities and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the son of God; the orthodox commentary could satisfy only a believing mind; but the "intemperate curiosity had torn the zeal of the sanctuary" and each of the Christian sects was eager to confess that all except themselves deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism; while the image worship and saint adoration were but an unimpeachable semblance of "Paganism." In Islam, worship could be due only to unamalgamated, One Supreme God, Creator of the Universe. The Prophet of Mecca rejected "the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the Author of the universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection." And for its prophet, Islam presented in Mohammed, a model of man who lived, married and experienced the life as a man. "The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age: the liberality of Mohammed," writes Gibbon, "allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed rise in just gradation above each other; but whatsoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels.

For the author of Christianity, the Mohammedans are taught by the prophet to entertain a high and mysterious reverence. 'Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed unto Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from him: honourable in this world, and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near to the presence of God.' The wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels are profusely heaped on his head; and the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception of his virgin mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and, at the day of judgment, his testimony will serve to condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and the Christians, who adore him as the Son of God."[1] "Cleanliness is the key of prayer"; and Islam is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice. No "confessions" or "interrogations" and prescriptions for "reconciliations" or "remissions"; and each Muslim for his own person is invested with the character of a priest. "As you sow, so shall you reap," and a "Retribution hereafter proportionate to the good or ill actions of men" are the fundamental basis of the teaching of Islam.

A Campaign of Vilification

Alarmed to find serious germs of their destruction in the mission of Islam, the clergy, with their unbounded influence as the dispensers of heavenly favours, set to raise walls of blind prejudice and deaf hatred against the new religion. The iron yoke of the episcopal policy had all along "rescued" the sinners from the "mischiefs" of knowledge and learning but now their malice and selfish interest heaped a mountain of lies on the head of the Prophet of Mecca and their pious energies were wholly employed in misrepresenting and reviling Islam. Indeed the great misfortune that ceaselessly overshadowed the career of the religion of One God were the ghastly distorted and maliciously false versions about the new religion with which the fertile genius of the clergy filled the minds of their "illiterate flocks."

"There is no man under heaven," in the words of H. M. K. Shairani in his Appendix to the book of Dr. Henry Stubbe, "who has been the object of as much discussion, due either to extreme hatred or great love, as the Prophet Mohammed. Exalted in the East and discarded in the West, the Prophet has acquired a position which is difficult to define and for which it is impossible to find a parallel. He has been a central figure, to a large part of mankind, during the last thirteen centuries. His great enemies were the infidels of Mecca, but their hostility is as nothing compared to that shown by the Christian nations, which casts the story of the Jews and their detestation of Jesus entirely into the shade. It is a strange irony of fate that Mohammed, who so manifestly honoured Isa and respected his

1. Gibbon, Vol. V.

teachings, has been made the object of the grossest abuse and the vilest calumny by the followers of Isa. Since the time when vague rumours about the Saracens began to reach the European shores, he has been considered "the arch enemy of Christianity"; and it has been the pious duty of devout Christians to expose what they call the imposture and deception of this 'great Antichrist.'

"There are several phases through which the history of Mohammed has passed in Europe. The first idea that Christians formed of the Prophet was, that he was the God of the Saracens, to whom divine honours were accorded. In the labyrinth of popular fancy, while the title of True God was applied to Jesus Christ, Mohammed received the appellation of the False God. It was commonly believed that he was worshipped in the form of an idol. The History of *Charles the Great*, by Bishop Turpin, the source of so many songs and romances, can be cited as a very early work which gives us a description of this idol. The author tells us that the idol Mahommed, which the Saracens worshipped, was made by Mahomet himself, in his lifetime; and that, by the help of a legion of devils, it was by magic art endued with such irresistible strength that it could not be broken. A singular antipathy towards the Christians possessed this idol, and through this they were exposed to imminent danger if they ventured to approach it. Even the birds of the air, it is said, were struck dead if they happened to alight upon it."[1]

Then Shairani proceeds: "The method with which the worship of Mahound is conducted so closely resembles contemporary Catholic services, that we need not detail it here. Two or three observations may suffice. It is pretty certain that the Saracens prayed in Latin; they also allowed music in their services and sang hymns. At the close of the service, the priest gave his benison, and exhorted the congregation to stand fast in the 'Grace of Mahound'; then he showed them the sacred relics of Mahound, a neck bone, an eye-lid, and so on.

"The attributes and the office of Mahound next demand our attention. In the first place he is a God, a great God, Almighty God. He is also described as 'St. Mahoun,' 'Lord Mahown,' 'Sir Mahown.' He is a 'Glorious Ghost,' helps the heathens, watches and rules over them, and receives their souls when they die. It appears that the mode of Christian worship grieves him; he is jealous of Christ's Godhead; hence the heathens fight with the Christians. They carry his images or pictures on their crest. The Christians, on their part, look upon him as 'Sorry Mahound,' 'Mad Mahound,' and last of all, 'False Mahound.'

"The fact is not recorded, but belief is current that Mahound also suffered crucifixion. 'By the blood of Mahound,' 'By the blood that Mahound bled,' or 'By the precious blood of Mahound,' is the com-

1. Dr. Henry Stubbe, *Rise and Progress of Mahometanism*, see appendix (by H. M. K. Shairani), pp. 225-227.

mon cry of all Paynims, whether Herod, the Sowdone of Babylon, the Amyral, or Saladin. The adjuration 'by Mahound' is so frequent that, in several romances, it is exclusively appropriated for this purpose. The following verses, however, contained curious variations:

'By Mahound's bones! had the wretches tarried,
Their necks without heads they should have carried!
Yea, by Mahound's nose! might I have patted them,
In twenty gobbets I should have squatted them.'

"For a long time, it appears, Mahound alone fulfilled the duties of Godhead, and had no partner or associate. All early writings confirm this opinion, but the fourteenth century romance literature introduced new changes in this belief. The term Saracen, which was sometimes applied to the heathens of the West, perhaps gave rise to a confusion in the mind of the romancers, which led to the coupling of Mahound with Apollo or Termagant.

'And there-for, swete fader myn,
Forsake Mahoun and Appolyn!
So help me, Mahown of might
And Termagant, my God so bright.'

"A further development was due to trinitarian views, the persons of the Saracenic trinity being Mahound, Apolyn, and Termagant. See *Song of Roland*, ed. J. Crossland, pp. 130, 131, 154, and 164. London, 1907. Besides these three chief Gods, a number of other gods are mentioned:

'With sterne strokes and with grete,
On Jovyn and Plotoun;
On Astrot and sire Jovin,
On Tirmagaunt and Appolin,
He brak hem scolle and croun;
On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
He lasts to lyme hole with other,
Ne on his lord seynt Mahoun.'

"Although Charles the Great did not destroy the idol Mahomet, possibly owing to the fear of a legion of devils, there are other Christian knights who have been more fortunate in this iconoclastic exploit; Roland and his peers have achieved this fame, and Sir Bevis of Hampton is another famous knight who has been equally successful. The name of Rinaldo of Montalban can never be forgotten; his daring robbery of the golden idol of Mahomet has even been immortalised in Don Quixote. In the romance of Ortnit we find that Alberich, a dwarf, flung down the Moorish idols, Mahomet and Apollo, two enormous figures carved in stone.

"The historian, Matthew Paris, commenting on a mournful letter received from the Holy Land, observes that the Christians, at the time of the 'Fall of the Image of Mahomet at Mecca,' rejoiced greatly. 'They exulted in the fall of the image,' and to this exultation he attributes the fury of the 'Chrosmins,' and the misfortunes that befell the Christians in consequence.

"Bayle quotes from the *History of the Holy Wars*, by Father Mabillion, that Tancred found the Statue of Mahomet in the Mosque of Omar, seated on a high throne. Six strong men could not lift it, and when he was informed that it was Mahomet, he made a very pathetic harangue to the idol, and cried out: 'It is this wicked Mahomet, who was the first Antichrist. If the Antichrist that is to come were now here with this, truly I would quickly have crushed him under my feet.'

"The belief in the idol Mahomet survived even as late as 1542. In that year a work was published in Germany by Henry Cnustin with the title, *The Low Origin, the Scandalous Life, and the Disgraceful End of the Turkish idol Mahomet with his Damnable and Blasphemous Doctrine*. . . .

"The following is the version of the story transmitted to us by William Langland in *Piers the Plowman*. People say that Makamede was a 'Christian man,' a great clerk, and a Cardinal at the Court of Rome, who had the ambition of becoming pope and prince of Holy Church. But he was a 'Lusshebargh' (bad coin), so, when he failed in his design, full of anger and revenge, he stole into Syria, and somehow became master of that land. He tamed a dove and fed it privately, day and night, in his ear. When he preached, the bird came to the 'clerk's' ear, and Makamede said to the people that it was a messenger of heaven, truly 'Very God himself,' who came in the likeness of the dove, to instruct him how to teach mankind.

". . . .The sentence of the poets, however, remains on record. Dante places him, as a heresiarch, in the Inferno (23-31), and depicts a most horrible scene. Fra Dolcino and Bertrand de Born are his companions: the demons of hell tear the flesh off his body, devour it, and, as soon as the wounds heal, renew the same action. Ali, his cousin, stands by, witnessing this with tears in his eyes. Similarly the celebrated Italian painter, Orcagna, includes him in the trio of the great despisers of all religions, and paints him in the hell of the Campo Santo at Pisa. The persons of this trio are, Mohammed, Averroes (Ibn Rushd), and Antichrist. Also in the *History of Guerino Meschino*, we are informed that the hero Guerino on his visit to Ireland was privileged to enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and there, in a group, he saw Judas Iscariot, Nero, and Mohammed.

"In England Dante was echoed by Skelton, who, in his *Nygromancer*, as quoted by Warton, places the Prophet in hell, in the company of Pontius Pilate, Judas the Traitor, and King Herod. The Scottish poet, Sir David Lyndsay, in his 'Dream,' descends into hell. His guide, the Remembrance, shows him a goodly company, in which he also finds the 'prophet poisonable.' He says:

> 'Ruling that rout I saw in cups of brass
> Simon Magus and bishop Cayphas,
> Bishop Annas and the traitor Judas,

Mahomet that prophet poisonable,
Core, Wathan, and Abiram there was.'

"Although out of place, it may not be amiss to state that the name Mahomet has had a narrow escape from becoming an abusive term. The English poet Kennedy, however, has used it in that sense. In a satire which he addressed to the contemporary Scotch poet Dunbar, he has the following lines :

'Conspirator, cursit cockatric, hell's ka,
Turk, trumpour, traitor, tyrant intemperat;
Thou ireful atter-cap, Pilot apostata,
Judas, Jew, juggler, Lollard laureat;
Saracen, Symonite, proud Pagan pronunceat,
Mahomet, mansworm, rebald abominable,
Devil, damit dog, in evil unsatiable,
With Gog and Magog great glorificat.' "

Such false and malicious stones to misrepresent Islam cover thousands of pages and the limited space available here permits no further reproduction of them.

The Musulmans were calumniated and "styled as Infidels, Miscreants, Paynims, Pagans, Heathens, Heathen hounds, Enemies of God, Turks, Allophili, Hagarenes, Ishmaelites, Canes, Moabites, Aliens, Gentiles, etc.; and occasionally Goths and Vandals. 'The most popular and generally accepted term, however," relates H. M. Khan Shairani, in his Appendix to Dr. Henry Stubbe's book : *Rise and Progress of Mahometanism*, "was Saracens. Remarkable statements were made touching its origin. The false report that the Saracens claimed to be descended from Sarah, with the object of concealing their low birth, created widespread indignation, which is voiced by the historian Matthew Paris. 'The Saracens perversely think,' he exclaims, 'that they are so called from Sarah; with greater truth, they ought to be called Agarenes, or Ishmaelites,' and in support of this contention he brings forward a genealogy of the Prophet, tracing his origin to Ishmael. The change of name advocated by him was not adopted, however, and uncritical minds still continued to call the Musulmans Saracens, until at last the pioneers of Orientalism, Scaliger and Hottinger, were induced to pronounce upon the matter. Investigation led them to the startling discovery that the word Saracen was derived from the Arabic 'Serq,' which means to steal; therefore Saracen came to mean a thief or a robber. The same school of Orientalists supplied additional details, received with approbation, concerning the low origin of the Saracens. It was alleged that Islam received its name from Ismael, and Hegira from Hagar; while similar ingenuity was employed in tracing the origin of the Tartars, who were said to have proceeded from 'tartarus,' a kind of hell. The Turks, on the other hand, were declared to be of Trojan descent, seeing that they occupied the ancient city of Troy; but subsequent writers identified them with 'Magog,' while the Arabs were called 'Gog.'

"No opinion was held with greater unanimity in the Christian Churches than the belief that the Muslims were infidels and idolators, who worshipped 'God Mahomet.' A hymn is preserved by the historian Ordericus Vitalis, which shows how the women of Palestine sang hymns to the honour of their God. This opens:

> "Praise be to Mahomet our God: sound the glad timbrels and offer him victims, that our terrible enemies may be overcome and perish.'

"Popular report represented the Saracens as great magicians, whose usual occupations were the black art, divination, and incantation. The well-known philosophers Alchindus (Alkindy), Geber (Jabr), Thebet ben-Corat (Thabit bin Qurrah), and Avicenna (Bu-Ali ben-Sina), with many others, were catalogued by the daemonographers, like the Prophet himself, as pernicious professors of diabolical magic. In the 'Romance of King Richard' we are informed that, when Saladin offered Richard battle, a mighty necromancer conjured for him two fiends in the likeness of two horses, upon one of which King Richard was to ride to battle: an angel, however, warned him of the treachery, and taught him to frustrate the designs of the infernal horse. Although Richard was victorious in the battle, the episode left a lasting impression on the minds of the Crusaders, and this manifested itself in an aversion for the Arab mare. The story of Gerbert—how he went among the Saracens, how he acquired the knowledge of magic, stole his Saracen teacher's book, and by means of that book entered into league with the Devil and finally became Pope—can be read in William of Malmesbury. It is equally certain that the Muslim women were also addicted to sorcery and magic. Calabre, the mother of Corbara (Corborgha), was a notorious, learned witch, who figures in several romances of the Middle Ages. Several other Saracen witches are mentioned, in the history of the Crusades, as having created obstacles to the conquest of the Holy Land.

"The abhorrence of swine, manifested by the Saracens, next engaged the attention of Europeans. The keenest interest was shown in this enquiry. With astonishment they exclaimed, 'See, these heathens eat cats and dogs! Why, then, do they refuse pork?' It was pointed out by some that pork could not be procured in Palestine, but it was reserved for Roger of Wendover to elucidate the true facts of the case. According to this eminent historian, there existed an ancient feud between the swine and the Saracens, and it is owing to this circumstance that the Musulmans abominate pig. This absurd story enjoyed a long popularity in England, and the last person who made use of it was a celebrated preacher, Henry Smith, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. As given by Roger of Wendover, it runs thus:

> 'At a certain hour in the evening, when Mahomet was sitting in his palace, intoxicated with wine, perceiving that his accus-

tomed sickness was coming on him, he hastened forth, asserting that he was summoned to converse with an angel, forbidding any one to follow him, lest he should perish at the sight of the angel. That he might not be hurt in falling he got on a dung heap, where he fell down, and rolled about, gnashing with his teeth and foaming; on seeing which, a number of swine, which were there, ran and tore him in pieces, and so put an end to him. His wife and family, on hearing the outcry of the swine, went out and found the body of their lord for the most part eaten by them. Collecting his remains, they deposited them with all honour in a coffer wrought with gold and silver, declaring that the angels of God, scarcely leaving his body on the earth, had carried off his soul with joy to the delights of heaven.'

"Another explanation is found in *The Golden Legend*, which says: 'And Mahomet told them that the cause was that the swine was made of the dung of the camel after Noah's Flood, and therefore it ought to be eschewed as an unclean beast.'

"The following explanation is given by the author of *A Voyage to Mount Libanus*. 'See the reason,' he says, 'why Mahomet forbade them the use of pork,' and proceeds: 'When he had hidden under the ground some vessels full of water, to perform a miracle like unto that of Moses, to show thereby that he was a greater prophet, it happened that this animal, which digs always in the earth, spoiled all his mystery.'

"A pernicious tenet," writes Gibbon, "has been imputed to the Mohammedans, the duty of extirpating all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Musulman conquerors, and by their public and legal toleration of the Christian worship." As early as the sixth year of the Hegira, "the Prophet granted to the monks of the Monastery of St. Catherine near Mount Sinai, and to all Christians, a Charter, which secured to the Christians all their privileges and immunities, and the Moslems were enjoined to protect the Christians, to guard them from all injuries, and to defend their churches, and the residences of their priests. They were not to be unfairly taxed; no bishop was to be driven out of his bishopric; no Christian was to be forced to reject his religion; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage; nor were the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Moslems. Christian women married to Moslems were to enjoy their own religion, and not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If the Christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries or any other matter pertaining to their religion, the Moslems were to assist them."[1]

1. Quoted in Amir Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens.*

"Ever since the establishment of the Islamic power," writes Ameer Ali, "the Christians had enjoyed the utmost toleration; they were protected in the practice of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges. They were allowed to move freely about the empire, to hold communication with princes of their own creed in foreign countries and to acquire lands and property under the same conditions as the Moslems. Public offices were open to them equally with the Moslems. Christian convents and churches existed everywhere, and Christian pilgrims from the most distant parts were permitted to enter Palestine without hinderance. In fact, pilgrimage to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs, and the Saracens contended themselves with maintaining order among the rival sects of Christianity, who would have torn each other to pieces in the very sepulchre they professed to worship. In Jerusalem, which was regarded as holy by the followers of both religions, a special quarter was set apart for the Patriarch and his clergy, which was inviolable on the part of the Moslems. When Palestine and Syria passed into the hands of the Fatimides in the year 969 A.C., the change of supremacy was to the advantage of the Christians, for the Egyptian sovereigns encouraged Christian trade and patronised the Christians."

But Europe was illiterate, sunk in darkness and ignorance, and its understanding and soul trampled under the foot and fettered to the heels of the all-powerful clergy. Hardly anyone was aware of the nature or falsity of the outrageous lies and malignant misrepresentations of the "Holy fathers"; but none could dare doubt or question the veracity of the clergy's wild calumnies, malicious distortions, savage vituperations and tirades. All was religion and all had to believed. The malignant propaganda against Islam went on for centuries and nothing could stem the progress of the blind torrents of the brutal fanaticism and wild prejudices. In course of time the Christians "developed," as Dozy observes, "an instinctive hatred for the Mussulmans, and entertained thoroughly false ideas about Mohammed and the doctrines he preached. Living in the midst of the Arabs, nothing was more easy than to instruct themselves on this subject; but they refused obstinately to go to the sources which could be found at their doors, and were satisfied with believing and repeating all the absurd fables which they retailed about the Prophet of Mecca."[1] In his Appendix to the book of Dr. Henry Stubbe, H. M. K. Shairani writes: "Christians in all ages have found some excuse for complaint, or some cause for opening hostilities, against their enemies the Turks. In our time it is the march of Civilisation, or the cause of Progress. In contrast with these worldly considerations, the motives of the Middle Ages always assumed a religious character. Faith was the leading spirit of the time, and

1. Quoted in *A Short History of Saracens*, p. 487.

the faithful entered into war with the Muslims on some pious pretext, *e.g.*, to rescue the inheritance of the Lord from the possession of the infidels, or to respond to the call of some saint or angel. The disbelief of the Saracens in Holy Baptism and the Virgin Mary formed another justification for war. A worthier cause that stirred the faithful was to seek vengeance for the 'Blood spilt on the Cross,' as may be seen in a reply sent by the Christians to the Moors, who were anxious to know why the Lords of France had attacked their country. Froissart has preserved the answer for us. It is to the effect that the title of quarrel for which they warred was 'Because the Son of God, called Jesus Christ, and true Prophet was put to death by their line and generation,' and he further adds that 'they had judged their God to death without title or reason.' Therefore the Christians took the Saracens and all their sect for their enemies.'"

Crusades

A ferocious storm of fanaticism burst in A.D. 1096 when the Pope[1] Urban II armed the innumerable hosts of Europe and hurled them against the Mediterranean Muslims. The naked and devastating aggression was exalted and glorified by the magic name of "religion and salvation" into holy wars—the Crusades. "A remission of sins to those who joined it (crusade) and promise to those who fell in battle" was the generous reward proclaimed. In the council of Clermont the Pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those "who should enlist under the banner of the cross; the absolution of all their sins and full receipt for all their debts, taxes and the dues of canonical penance; and the assurance of divine favour and of eternal felicity." "Every means," says Hallam, "was used to excite an epidemical frenzy," and "none doubted that such as perished in the war unfailingly received the reward of martyrdom." The influence of the religion and of the Pope was unchallengeable. Pope Gregory VII "viewed sovereigns of nations as vassals to himself. The Emperor resisted; the Pope excommunicated him, and such was the calamity for Henry IV, that in the depth of the winter, he hurried across the Alps, found the Pope at Canossa and for three days begged to be admitted as a suppliant to his presence"[2] (1077).

"The cold philosophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impression," writes Gibbon, "that was made on a sinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embrac-

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1. The magnanimous spirit of Gregory the Seventh had already embraced the design of arming Europe against Asia; the ardour of his zeal and ambition still breathes in his epistles; from either side of the Alps fifty thousand Catholics had enlisted under the banner of St. Peter; and his successor reveals his intention of marching at their head against the impious sectaries of Mohammed. But the glory or reproach of executing, though not in person, this holy enterprise, was reserved for Urban the Second, the most faithful of his disciples."
2. Gibbon.

ed by offenders of every rank and denomination. None were pure; none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of sin; and those who were the least amenable to the justice of God and the church were the best entitled to the temporal and eternal recompense of their pious courage. If they fell, the spirit of the Latin clergy did not hesitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of martyrdom; and should they survive, they could expect without impatience the delay and increase of the heavenly reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their salvation, they took up the cross, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord." Generations after generations rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and men of every condition "staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tombstone two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; the nations were moved by the authority of their pontiffs and the example of their kings: their zeal was kindled, and their reason was silenced, by the voice of their holy orators."[1]

"The Crusades form," says Gibbon, "one of the maddest episodes in history. Christianity hurled itself at Mohammedanism in expedition after expedition for nearly three centuries, until failure brought lassitude, and superstition itself was undermined by its own labours. Europe was drained of men and money, and threatened with social bankruptcy, if not with annihilation. Millions perished in battle, hunger, or disease, and every atrocity the imagination can conceive disgraced the warriors of the Cross."

Christianity in Example

And yet "those wolves" could claim that "spirit of persecution is unworthy of Christianity." The hard fact is that the amount of bloodshed and the extent of devastation spread in the name of Christ has no parallel in history. Beautiful phrases have been composed by the faith of the believers and ascribed to the genius of Jesus. It is fondly urged that the great prophet commanded his followers:

"Return good for good; return also good for evil"

"Requisite injury with kindness."

But are there any instances where the agents of the church or followers of Christ adorned the history with example. Christian histories are the annals of frightful persecutions, full of blood—innocent blood shed by unsurpassing fanaticism. Toleration, moderation and peace have ever been alien to the spirit of Christianity as it was practised. The crusades which were the "grandest successes" of the virulence and fanaticism that the clergy could raise and procreate furnish us with unperishable monuments of Christian intolerance and bigotry. The bigots were greedy of every pretence—to hate and persecute those who dissented from their creed.

1. Gibbon.

Spirit of Crusades Survives

The disaster of the continuous failures of the crusades at length chilled the enthusiasm of the "Temporal" kings. The rational thinking of many thousands, who were shocked with the malicious misrepresentations of the Pope and his clergy, embraced Islam as their religion. While the experience of those who could return with life shook their faith in "miracles" and "remissions"; after nearly three hundred years there was left none who would undertake the perilous journeys. Expeditions of the crusades came to an end but the hatred which had nourished and the bigotry which inflamed and maintained the crusades survived with a greater vigour. An attempt was made during the third crusade, of an understanding and a reproachment between Christianity and Islam by Richard, the lion-hearted, whose cruelty had been retaliated by "kindness" from Salah-ud-din and whose surprise had been provoked to find that neither Islam was an idolatrous religion nor Musalmans, blood-thirsty hounds as represented by the clergy. Neither Mohammed was an "idol" nor Muslims worshipped him. The king of England, deeply impressed by Isalm and Muslim character, proposed marriage of his sister with Salah-ud-din's brother, Adel, and offered, for her dowery, the cities held by him on the sea-coast. The Sultan, accepting the proposal, agreed to give over to his brother the cities he had conquered; and Jerusalem was to be possessed by husband and wife as neutral city free to the followers of both the religions. The noble efforts of Richard were applauded by the masses on both the sides but a murmur of fanaticism, and a thunder of excommunication chilled the enthusiasm of the king, defeated the marriage and wrecked the agreement.

No Faith with Non-Christians

"The principle of the crusades was a savage fanaticism; and the most important effects were analogous to the cause," observes Gibbon. The spring of mischief left behind was deep and perennial. The clergy systematised the religious aversion against 'the infidel Musalman,' denounced him as the "determined foe of Christ," and made this hatred as a part of Christianity. The resentment against Islam was preached in the churches, monasteries and congregations and instructed for the benefits of the future generations in schools' nurseries, educational and training centres. The killing of a Muslim was constituted as one of the "five features" of the chivalrous institution of knighthood; contracts and association with a Musalman were denounced; and as a principle of moral guidance it was declared as a privilege that "no promise could bind a Christian against the interest and duty of his religion" and that a "Christian king may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors with Muslims." The famous battle of Varna may be quoted as an immortal monument of the "debased bigotry" and the savage fanaticism that ruled the Christian world.

Battle of Varna

The most striking feature in the life and character of Murad (also known as Amurath) II, the Ottoman Sultan, is his double abdication of the Turkish throne. In 1444, a ten-year peace was concluded between Christian powers of Europe and the Turkish Sultan, and the famous Treaty of Szegedin, embodying the terms of the truce, was sworn upon the Gospel and the Qur'an, and attested by the word of God as the guardian of truth and avenger of perfidy. Soon afterwards at the age of forty, the Sultan relinquished the sceptre to his son and retired to Magnesia to pass the remainder of his days in the society of saints.

"No sooner were the Christians aware of the abdication of the famous Sultan, whose generalship, despite the reverses his Pashas had received at the hands of Hunyady, was still an article of faith with his foes, than they," writes Lane-Poole, "resolved to forsake their treaty. The Pope and the Greek Emperor used their spiritual influence to induce Hunyady to break his oath, and Cardinal Julian employed the celebrated and infamous argument which Cardinal Ximenes with equal success urged upon the conscience of Isabella of Castile that oaths are not to be kept with infidels." "During the whole transaction ('of the treaty') the Cardinal legate," relates Gibbon, "had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was further fortified by the welcome intelligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; 'And is it thus,' exclaimed the Cardinal, 'that you will desert their expectations and your fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In this name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still you have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin.' This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character and the levity of popular assemblies." "Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants," said the Legate and "instilled the opinion of the invisible and perhaps invisible son of God and divine mother." "War was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the

invincible virtue of the sword and the cross." "The treaty had hardly been sworn a month when this perfidy was afoot; but the conspirators waited," relates Lane-Poole, "till the Turks had loyally carried out their part of the bond and had evacuated the forts of Serbia, before they began to disclose their plans.

"Nothing more derogatory," observes Lane-Poole, "to the chivalry of Europe and the fame of a great general could be imagined than the manner in which this treachery was carried out. As soon as they had obtained the full advantages of the treaty they were about to disown, by the retirement of the Ottoman garrisons, Hunyady, with the King of Hungry, and Cardinal Julian, marched upon the unsuspecting Turks, and began to invade the Ottoman dominions. They took many strong places, and massacred the garrisons or threw them over precipices. Reaching the Black Sea, they turned south, and had advanced as far as Varna, which surrendered to their siege, when they learned that Murad had been roused from his retreat, had resumed the sceptre. By forced marches the Sultan pressed forward, and soon the news was brought that he was close at hand."

A copy of the violated treaty, "the monument of Christian perfidy," raised high under the orders of the Sultan as a standard in front of the battle, fluttered to proclaim and immortalise the perjury and treachery of the Christian world. The battle was fierce and dreadful and the decisive victory of the Sultan resulted in complete subjugation of Serbia and Bosnia, which "were the more willing," in the words of Lane-Poole, "to re-enter the Moslem dominion as they had been threatened with persecution and forcible conversion to the Latin faith in the event of the triumph of Hunyady."

The Ruin

Neither time could pour illumination in the minds of the cross-bearers, nor sentiments of human sympathy could gain hearing to soften their prejudices, nor name of the Common Father of mankind could mollify the rigour of their temper. The shrewd and artful popes, conscious of their precarious authority and their furious pontiffs and monks, for centuries continued to reign over the conscience of the artless bigots and nurture their ignorance, prejudices and hatred against Islam. The same savage frenzy shaped the disposition and the same implacable and blind aversion of the crusader moulded the temper of the future generations. Islam was terrifically struck wherever and whenever opportunity came. In Spain, the Moors met with total annihilation; Saracens in the Mediterranean were slaughtered to extinction; and existence of the Turk was wiped out from the soils of Europe and Russia. But under the liberality and toleration of Islam, Christianity has ever lived and enjoyed complete freedom in Asia and Africa.

At the close of the Middle Ages, England, Holland and France discovered in the "Crusade-spirit" very serviceable means of accomplishing their colonial designs; and their colonial policy perverted the

meaning and extended application of "Crusade for holy places," so as to embrace all operations, political, commercial or social, to strike at Islam. "The crusade of the Holy places took on," in the words of Sir Percival·Spear, "the wider character of a great struggle between the Cross and the Crescent. The discovery of the Cape route to India opened a new phase of this conflict in the Indian Ocean, provided a genuine idealistic impulse for an enterprise which, in its other aspects, was largely commercial. After the Reformation, the same religious militancy, combined with a sound appreciation of the value of the Eastern trade, animated the Protestant English and Dutch in their fight for the supremacy of the East."

The Brahman had never come in contact with the West; he was in fact an unknown entity. But the Musalman, "a name which," in the words of Gibbon, "every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence," unlike the Brahman, was not merely a subject people, but an "old infidel" whose annihilation was a divine mandate," and "a holy command of the holy fathers," and for whose extermination Europe had been fervently praying and aggressively warring for centuries. The Indian Musalman had at no occasion shared the defence of Egypt or Syria against the "Holy invaders," nor at any time supported the "brother-defenders" with money or supplies; nor given any cause of complaint to Christianity; but the wolves were never prepared to consider the innocence of the lamb; the guilt of "his profession in Islam" was more than sufficient to attract for him the "universal desire of his extinction." In India, therefore, the agents of the British imperialism found an unique opportunity of finding a colony as well as deserving the favour of Heaven. Extirpation by sword, however, was not possible; but the "modern bigots" were more resourceful than their ancestors; they supplemented their sword with equally, rather more effective, slow poisons of economic and political destruction; and set to ruin the Indian Musalman.

Economic Ruin

The era of the Muslim rule was the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; native genius flowered all over; the mechanic's labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance; and the progress of industry, in particular, the textile industry, had enriched the country. The position of Bengal particularly was very sound; the territory was fruitful: the revenues ample; beautiful palaces, houses, libraries, and schools, and the minarets of the mosques and public places adorned the cities and towns.

Land revenue and state services were the main streams of Muslim prosperity; and the spring that fed and nourished those streams were sapped by the insidious confiscations and seizure of lands. The Musalman was robbed of his private and public wealth; forces of extortion were unlocked and every hand according to its size and strength lawfully seized the rich spoils. The "Permanent Settlement"

of Bengal, enacted in 1793, under the pretence of "reforming evils," snatched from the hands of the Muslim land-owners their lands and vested them in the Brahmanic Revenue Collectors who were hitherto in menial employment of the former (Muslim land-holders). The enactment, observes James O'Kincely, "elevated the Hindu Collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of land-holders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule."[1] The mischief that flowed was deep and perennial. The first citizens of the state and the most honourable inhabitants were obliged to abandon their inheritance and were left with no means of sustenance and no occupation. The Muslim nobility, back-bone of the nation, gradually disappeared; the splendid palaces they had maintained were despoiled and the beautiful buildings that spoke of their grandeur, fell into ruins. "The spider wove his web in the imperial palaces and the owl sang her watch song on the towers of ruling houses." Hunter writes:

> "In every district the descendants of some line of princes sullenly and proudly eats his heart out among roofless palaces and weed-choked tanks. Of such families, I have personally known several. Their houses swarm with grown-up sons and daughters, with grand-children and nephews and nieces, and not one of the hungry crowd has a chance of doing anything for himself in life. They drag on a listless existence in patched-up verandahs or leaky out-houses, sinking deeper and deeper into a hopeless abyss of debt, till the neighbouring Hindu money-lender fixes a quarrel on them, and then in a moment a host of mortgages foreclose, and the ancient Musalman family is suddenly swallowed up and disappears for ever."[2]

> "During the last seventy-five years (i.e. since Permanent Settlement) the Musalman houses of Bengal have either disappeared from the earth, or are at this moment being submerged beneath the new strata of society which our rule has developed."[3]

The conclusion which Sir William Hunter reaches is pathetic, but inflicts an undying reproach on the mean usurpers: "A hundred and seventy years ago," he writes, "it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."[4]

State Service

The other source of Musalman's bread and prosperity was state service. The armies and police in the days of the Muslim rule were

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1. Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 155.
2. & 3. Ibid., p. 147 and 157 respectively.
4. Ibid., p. 150.

commanded for the most part by Muslim officers, distinguished by birth or ability. The common soldiers were drawn from the lower strata of society, while the civil honours in the public administration were held by men of virtue and learning. The usurpers' prejudice excluded the Musalman from the civil and military honours, weeded him out from the state service and branded him with the "stigma" of "disdainful unfitness." Hunter observes:

> "In fact, there is now scarcely a Government Office in Calcutta in which a Muhammadan can hope for any post above the rank of a porter, messenger, 'filler of ink-pots' and 'mender of pens.' "

"It was not that Musalmans were inferior to Hindus. It was the British rule that had descended upon them as blight," writes Hunter. "When the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organisation and in the science of practical government."[1] A pathetic letter by a Muslim addressed to the Editor of *Dur-Bin*, a Calcutta Persian paper, appearing in its issue published on July 14, 1864, fully unveils the hostile discrimination accorded to the Muslims under the iron yoke. It reads:[2]

> "All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Mohammedans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye. Yet the time has now come, when it publicly singles out the Muhammadans in its Gazettes for exclusion from official posts. Recently, when several vacancies occured in the Office of the Sundarbans Commission that official, in advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointments would be given to none but Hindus."

"In short, the Muhammadans have now sunk so low, that even when qualified for government employment, they are studiously kept out of it by Government notifications," observes Hunter. He quotes another petition presented by the Orissa Musalmans to the Commissioner which may be read as the epitaph of his people or an undying disgrace on the face of the usurpers. The petition proceeds:

> "As loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, we have, we believe, an equal claim to all appointments in the administration of the country. Truly speaking, the Orissa Muhammadans have been levelled down and down, with no hopes of rising again. Born of noble parentage, poor by profession, and destitute of patrons, we find ourselves in the position of a fish out of water. Such is the wretched

1. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 162.
2. Ibid. p. 167.

> state of the Muhammadans, which we bring unto your Honour's notice, believing your Honour to be the sole representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen for the Orissa Division, and hoping that justice will be administered to all classes, without distinction of colour or creed. The penniless and parsimonious condition which we are reduced to, consequent on the failure of our former Government service, has thrown us into such an everlasting despondency, that we speak from the very core of our hearts, that we would travel into the remotest corners of the earth, ascend the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, wander the forlorn regions of Siberia, could we be convinced that by so travelling we would be blessed with a Government appointment of ten shillings a week."[1]

Sir William Hunter concludes: "It is not that they (Muslims) have ceased to retain the entire State Patronage, but that they are gradually being excluded from it altogether. It is not that they must now take an equal chance with the Hindus in the race of life, but that, at least in Bengal, they have ceased to have a chance at all. In short, it is a people with great traditions and without a career."

Trade and Commerce

Yet another spring of the Muslim stability was trade and commerce. The Muslim traders in general controlled the exchange of the Indian manufactures with the produce of foreign world and continuous traffic of caravans and fleets marked the flow in and flow out of the merchandise. It was immediate care of the exploiters to strike at that channel of prosperity and of intercourse; and before long those links of trade and commerce were also wiped out.

All occupations and professions of honourable living were thus denied to the Musalman.

Education

"All who have meditated," said Aristotle, "on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on education of the youth." "Education determines the future of every nation," sages have so often repeated. "Give me," said, truly, the great Lenin, "the children for ten years and I will overturn the world." Education has, since centuries forced upon mankind, recognition of its importance in nurturing and shaping the destinies of nations.

The English were not insensible to the revolutionary value of education and influence of language and it was their most serious care to exterminate the both.

Under the Muslim rule education was not compulsory; yet there was no illiteracy. It used to be an article of faith for a man of

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1. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 167.

position to have a *maktab* (school) and a mosque attached to his house. The country was covered with thousands of schools and colleges. Such *maktabs* were surrounded with groves and fountains for the study, devotion and recreation of the students, and were endowed with ample revenues, in shape of free "grants." Education was not only free; but a sufficient allowance[1] was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit or industry of the professors was paid with adequate stipends. The English masters confiscated "the estate of the charitable trusts" and resumed the "free grants"of these humanitarian institutions. Special courts were created and "during the next eighteen years the whole province was overrun with informers, false witnesses, and stern-faced Resumption Officers,[2] at an expense of £8,000,000 a year.[3] The combined efforts of the legislature and executive in seizing those "free grants" strangled the cause of humanitarian service. "Violent seizure of those sources of funds" paralysed the hitherto prevailing system of education without providing for a substitute. The students, whose parents had already been stripped of their fortunes, could furnish no contributions to make up the loss. The teachers under pain of starvation were obliged to take to other avocations. The public schools disappeared; the flourishing system of education met with total extirpation; and the anti-literacy campaign against the Muslims very soon bore the desired fruits. The new generations of the Musalman grew up uneducated and plunged into deep illiteracy. Dr. Hunter, testifying to these facts, writes:

> "The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying absolutely ruined. . . .The panic of those days (Resumptions) is still remembered, and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred. Since then the profession of a Man of Learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Native Rulers, has ceased to exist in Bengal. . . .There can be no doubt whatever that from those Resumptions the decay of the Muhammadan system of education dates.' "[4]

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1. "While we have created a system of public Institutions," Writes Hunter, "unsuited to their (Muslims) wants, we have also denuded their own system of the funds by which it was formerly supported. Every great Musalman House in Bengal maintained a scholastic establishment in which its sons and its poorer neighbours received education free of expense. As the Muhammadan families of the Province declined, such private institutions dwindled in numbers and inefficiency. It was not however till the second half century of our rule that we arrayed against them the resistless force of British Law." (*The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 75-76).
2. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 177.
3. Ibid. p. 177.
4. Ibid. p. 177.

Again, religious endowments made by Musalmans of position were also in many cases deceitfully taken ove under the false pretences of "just administration" and their funds were misappropriated. As for instance a Muslim of Hugli District who died in 1806, leaving a vast estate "in pious uses." In 1810, a quarrel arose between his two Trustees, and the English Collector attached the property; litigation continued till 1816 when the Government dismissed both of the trustees and assumed the management of the estate, appointing itself in the place of one trustee and nominating a second one. "We may imagine, then," writes Hunter, "the burst of indignation when the Muhammadans learned that the English Government was about to misappropriate the funds to the erection of an English College. This however, it did. It devoed an estate, left expressly for the pious uses of Islam, to founding an institution subversive in its very nature of the principles of Islam, and from which the Muhammadans were practically excluded. At this moment the head of the College is an English gentleman ignorant of a single word of Persian or Arabic, who draws £15,000 a year from a strictly Muhammadan endowment for teaching things hateful to every Musalman. It is not, of course, his fault, but the fault of the Government which placed him there, and which for thirty-five years has been deliberately misappropriating great educational funds. In vain it attempted to cloak so gross a breach of trust by attaching a small Muhammadan school to the English College."

The aggressive blood-sucker aggressors, while they were labouring for destruction of the Musalman, had the fiendishness to accuse the victims of non-cooperation with their insidious measures; they even maligned Islam as forbidding its followers under "the pain of eternal damnation from acquiring the learning of the 'Firangi' (English nation); they covered the Musalman with the blame of refusing to take advantage of the new educational institutions." But nothing could be more dishonest and perverse than such malicious and false pretences. The new educational system they had planned was only another channel running towards the great river of ruin and destruction designed for the Muslim people. This system did not contemplate for the education of the Muslims; it was designed to lock up the doors of enlightenment and learning against the Musalman and to reduce him into lifeless husk. It was meant for training up the Brahmanic people with a view to enabling them to play as instruments in the hands of the English. Sir William Hunter fully acknowledges and unmasks the falsity and dishonesty of such outrageous allegations. He observes:

> "The truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion, of the

Musalmans.

"Before the country passed on to us, they were not only the political but the intellectual power in India. They possessed a system of education which, to use the words of the Indian statesman who knows them best, however inferior to that which we have established, was yet by no means to be despised; was capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish; was founded on principles not wholly unsound, though presented in an antiquated form; and which was infinitely superior to any other system which secured to them an intellectual as well as a material supremacy. During the first seventy-five years of our rule we continued to make use of this system as a means for producing officers to carry out our administration. But meanwhile we had introduced a scheme of Public Instruction of our own; and as soon as it trained up a generation of men on the new plan, we flung aside the old Muhammadan system, and the Musalman youth found every avenue of public life closed in their faces.

"Is it, therefore, (to repeat the words of "Indian Statesman" who has studied the subject most deeply) any wonder that the Musalmans have held aloof from a system which made no concession to their prejudices, made no provision for what they esteemed their necessities; which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests and at variance with all their social traditions?"

CHAPTER VII

FIRST PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Growth of British Power—The New Change—Imposition of Christianity—Dangerous Reaction, Indian Resentment—In Defence of Religion, A New Revolution—Sayyid Ahmed—Muslim Revival—The Struggle, Risings—British, Mad with Power.

War of Liberation: Premature Outburst at Meerut—Liberation of Meerut and Delhi—Bahadur Shah Proclaimed Emperor—Liberation Movement becomes National Movement—Liberation of Various Regions—Khan Bahadur Khan Elected Vicegerent—Jhansi Liberated—Inspiring Patriots—Peer Ali and Maulvi Ahmedullah—English Reverses, Their Frustration, the Cry of "India is Lost"—Betrayal—Lack of Communications Destroys the Revolution in the Punjab—Return of Fortune—Siege of Delhi by the English, Sikhs and Gurkhas—Bakht Khan, Leader of "Liberation Forces"—Heroic Defence of Delhi—Treachery Succeeds where Arms Failed—Sack of Delhi—Failure of the Great Movement.

Growth of British Power

AT a time when the hope of saving "the Muslim India" from the talons of British Imperialism depended only on firm union and cooperation of the various tribes and sects, nobles and chiefs, provincials and despots, every region of the Mughal Empire was a scene of disastrous independence, of calamitous discord and dissensions and of blood and slaughter. Even the presence of the common foe could not suspend their mutual jealousies; nor misfortune of one could instruct a lesson to the others; nor even the ties of blood and religion could urge them to unite against the foreign exploiters. They possessed valour, but without the spirit of discipline and union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down or turned against each other with wild inconstancy, and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. Neither the courage of Rohillas, nor the despair of Mir Qasim, nor the fortitude of Hyder Ali or Tipu, nor the patriotism of Bakhat Khan, nor the love of freedom of the "Liberators of 1857" could avert the slavery of their country and resist the progress of the English intrigues. One by one they fell victim to the English manoeuvres till the factions were silenced under the common yoke of British Imperialism.

The New Change

Change of rulers had hitherto meant only replacement of one Muslim ruler by another and as the administration essentially remained in Muslim hands, the masses who had learned to bow their heads before the conquering hands viewed the change of rulers and rise and fall of principalities with the indifference of slaves. Usurpa-

tion of authority by the agents of the British Imperialism, however, was a change with strikingly different bearings. It demolished the Muslim authority, installed the British Imperialism in power and sought to root out the Muslim structure, the Muslim civilisation and the Muslim thought. But the artful English cautiously avoided every noise or ostentation which might shock the indifference of the people, awaken them to the dangers hidden beneath the new change and provoke them to some desperate reaction. They assumed the authority[1] and moved the wheel of the government but condescended to exercise that authority and conduct their administration in the name and as the vicegerents of the powerless Mughal Emperor; they exploited the Mughal name, the Mughal organisation of justice and finances and discreetly retained the administration of the Muslim Personal Law. Their acts of cruelty, prompted by the imperial zeal or religious fanaticism, were coloured by the fairest pretences of justice and public good; and while the foreigners designed to ruin the foundation, they seemed to reform the abuses of the Muslim authority. Without alarming[2] the fears or suspicions of the simple and credulous Musalman, the crafty enemy advanced surreptitiously by slow

1. (*a*) "The English obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officer of the Delhi Emperor. Our legal title was simply that of the Emperor's Diwan or Chief Revenue Officer." (W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 153.)

(*b*) "From 1803 the Emperor of Delhi was a British pensioner, but his name was still one to conjure with, and he was regarded throughout India as the fount of lawful authority. The British did not dare to challenge Indian sentiment by openly taking his place, but in a long series of cautious encroachments they claimed one prerogative after another. The final proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1876 was the delayed completion of the whole process." (Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 126.)

2. "The truth is, that had we hastened by a single decade our formal assumption of the sovereignty, we should have been landed in a Muhammadan rising infinitely more serious than the mutinies of 1857. The whole status of the Musalmans would have been suddenly changed. We should have been in the position of an Infidel Power who had seized and occupied a Country of Islam. The great majority of the Indian Musalmans would have deemed it their absolute duty to rebel; for, as I have already shown, the first obligation 'of every man, woman, and child,' in such a case, 'is to hurt and drive away the Infidel Ruler.'

"The admirable moderation of the East India Company's servants, and their determination to let the Muhammadan Power expire by slow natural decay, without hastening its death a single moment, averted this danger. India passed from a Country of Islam into a Country of the Enemy by absolutely imperceptible gradations. After many years' study of the Imperial and District Archives, I find myself unable to place my finger on any given year or decade of years as that in which the change was effected. We got rid of the subordinate Muhammadan Governors long before we touched the nominal supremacy of the Muhammadan Emperors. Long after that nominal supremacy had become a farce, and indeed up to 1835, our coinage still issued in his name. Even after we thus ventured to impress the British Sovereign's effigy on our coin, we maintained much of the Muhammadan Procedure along with the Muhammadan Court language. These in their turn slowly disappeared. But it was not till 1864 that we took the bold step, and in my opinion the unwise step, of doing away with the Muhammadan Law Officers by an Act of the Legislature. This law put the last touch to the edifice of the new Empire of India as a Country of the Enemy, the rebuilding of which had been wisely spread over exactly one hundred years (1765 to 1864). While the Muhammadan Rule thus imperceptibly disappeared, a new set of obligations on the part of our Musalman subjects was springing up. Before India has passed into a Country of the Enemy, the duties incumbent upon the Muhammadans in a Country of Islam had faded away. One of the first of these duties, as I have already said, is rebellion against an Infidel Conqueror." (Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 130-131.)

and cautious steps, with safety and with effect to undermine the decayed fabric of the Muslim rule.

The stream of the new change flowed with a gentle and imperceptible motion amidst the unsuspecting people who, long habituated to changing scenes, continuous strife and warfare, heeded not the wave of English rise and watched unmoved for one hundred years the growth of the British power. The mask of hypocrisy and deceit was cast aside when the usurpers got firmly established. The "odious use" of the Mughal Emperor's name was then suspended; the Muslim courts were abolished; the Muslim system of administration was thrown aside; and no effort was spared to efface everything that could be reminiscent of the Muslim rule or authority. Muslim prosperity was uprooted; the doors of education were closed upon the Musalmans and the former rulers of India were at length reduced to the misery of lifeless serfs, drudges or villains.

Imposition of Christianity

There is nothing perhaps more adverse to nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations in opposition to their inclination and interest. In spite of their disciplined army to inspire fear, fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion, and swift means of communication with the extreme parts, the usurpers, amidst "their great achievements," always felt insecure. "Metcalfe was never tired of emphasizing 'precariousness' of the British dominion; Elphinstone feared 'that the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason and not prejudice'; 'In an empire like that of India,' wrote Malcolm, 'we are always in danger.' If foreign powers did not destroy the empire, thought these men, the native army might rise, the people might themselves so far develop that they would oust the British from control.' This, to Elphinstone, was 'the most desirable death for us to die. . . .but this seems at an immeasurable distance.' If neither foreign invasion nor mutiny nor improvement brought an end to British rule then 'a revival of religious feeling certainly would.' They saw themselves as the successors of the Mughuls, sitting like them on a religious volcano, but unlike them, having no roots in the country and depending upon a mercenary army of doubtful allegiance."[1] The "Consolidation Policy" of the usurpers had, at the very outset, undertaken to nourish up and inflame the Brahman's prejudices and hostility against the Musalman; but that could be no substitute for the "Mughal roots." To strike "root" in the soil, they found it necessary to root Christianity in India and considered their domination incomplete and insecure so long as the religions of India were permitted to exist. Very soon the unfortunate country was swarmed with missionaries, decorated with the epithet of "saints." These instruments

1. Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West.*

of the "British consolidation policy" with the sincere conviction that they were the "chosen instruments of Almighty" zealously set themselves to liberate India "from the forces of darkness" and "to bestow upon the Indians the blessing of the Gospel." "The Christian missionaries, whose general viewpoint at this time," describes C. H. Philips, "may perhaps best be summarized in Charles Grant's words, 'The cure of darkness is light!'—at once saw their opportunity and, confident that the introduction of Indians to the study of English would achieve their twofold purpose of undermining Hinduism and extending Christianity, began to open schools giving not merely a vocational training but a general education on English lines. In Bombay the Parsi community, which dominated the economic life of the city, welcomed this development; in Madras, English was rapidly adopted as a lingua franca; but it was in Calcutta, where two colleges were established before 1820, that the greatest advance was made." "Soon India was covered with a network of Christian institutions" and, from the meanest Englishman to the Prime Minister, all became restless "to confer on the countless millions of India, a higher and nobler gift of Christianity."[1] Rev. Kennedy wrote:

> "Whatever misfortunes come on us, as long as our Empire in India continues, so long let us not forget that our chief work is the propagation of Christianity in the land. Until Hindusthan, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas embrace the religion of Christ and until it condemns the Hindu and the Muslim religions, our efforts must continue persistently. For this work, we must make all the efforts we can and use all the power and all the authority in our hands; and continous and unceasing efforts must be kept on until India becomes a magnificent nation, the bulwark of Christianity in the East! If, with such uninterrupted perseverance, we continue our efforts, then I do not doubt that, by the grace of God, we shall be successful in the end!"[2]

"'I have been in the habit,' declared an English officer in 1857, 'of speaking to natives of all classes, sepoys and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God, on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars, and villages —not only in the lines and regimental bazaars. I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded by the Scriptures, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his fellow creatures.'"[3]

"Many more forcible instances might be given of commanders and administrators seeking to spread abroad the faith in which

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1. Quoted in Savarkar, *Indian War of Independence*, p. 56.
2. Ibid.
3. R. W. Frazer, *British India*, p. 273.

they found their surest solace in this world and firmest hopes of a hereafter."[1]

The Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company, Mr. Mangles, said in the House of Commons (in 1857):

"Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindusthan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country the grand work of making all India Christian."[2]

Lord Palmerston (Prime Minister) boldly announced amidst great cheers, at a banquet given in 1855 by the Court of Directors of the East India Company: "Perhaps it might be our lot to confer on the countless millions of India a higher and nobler gift (Christianity) than any mere human knowledge."[2]

Christianity was made the state religion ; wealth, dignity, and the state favour became the liberal reward of apostasy; the offenders and criminals could purchase their pardon by the renunciation of the faith of their forefathers. Those who refused to accept the blessings of the Gospel were often stripped of their honours and employments. By the Act XXI of 1850, the local usages and personal laws of the people, which denied inheritance to any Christian, rather an apostate, by reason of his renouncing the religion of his parents, were abolished.

Owing to the ceremonial peculiarities of Hinduism, forcible conversion was curiously easy. Bring a Brahman into contact with beef, for example, and "he felt himself to be for ever cut off from his kind"; the profession of Christianity was then the only, and by no means intolerable, alternative to joining the ranks of the outcastes or the hated Musalman. And beef was served on every table. Some might have changed their faith from conviction but the majority did from policy. In the words of Percival Spear, "There were those among the intellectuals in touch with the British who were dazzled by the new ideas. The new light in their eyes was so bright that they thought the light within themselves was darkness. They took, so to speak, Macaulay at his word, and set out to westernize themselves in thought, mind, and spirit; they formed beef-eating clubs and gloried in the defiance of caste 'superstition'.... So for a few years there was a stream of Brahmin and other high-caste converts, whose descendants are to be found today in leading positions in the Christian community."

Dangerous Reaction

These inescapable happenings which could not remain veiled for all times at length forced recognition on the Indians that the growth of the English power in India was not a passing wave. Loss

1. R. W. Frazer, *British India.*
2. Quoted in Savarkar, p. 55.
3. R. W. Frazer, *British India.*

of liberty to the common man was not so serious as was the attack on his religion. The people were alarmed at the discovery of the serious threat to their religious professions and the destruction aimed at the fabric of their social laws. The first reaction was mute astonishment and passive resentment and, for the first time, the common man understood the meaning of loss of liberty and felt the severe pinch of the foreign rule and felt the difference between a friend and a foe. Racial prejudices of the usurpers and their inhuman treatment meted out to the Indians spurred up that resentment and it began to stir up and agitate the people against the chains of the British Imperialism. We find later on that that very resentment transformed into an unique revolution which filled the country with seething discontent and disaffection.

In Defence of Religion

"Signs and symptoms of general unrest," as C. H. Philips relates, "had appeared much earlier, particularly in the mutiny in 1807 of the sepoys at Vellore in the Madras Presidency. There the desire of the British Commander-in-Chief to introduce uniformity of appearance among his Indian troops led to orders affecting their distinguishing caste marks, the hair on their faces, and their dress and turbans. These changes, set against a background of exceptional activity by Christian missionaries and rumours of forced conversions to Christianity in South India, were interpreted by the sepoys as an attack on their religion, and, taking advantage of slack discipline, they finally mutinied; but the proportion of European troops in the neighbourhood was sufficiently high to enable the rising to be promptly crushed. The significance of this event lay in the fact that unrest among the general population in Madras had found expression through the only organized body of Indians in the south—the sepoy army." In 1824, at the time of first invasion of Burma by the English, the "Bengal Sepoys" who were ordered to sail to Burma made a representation that their religious professions did not permit them to travel by sea. But the British authorities refused to listen. The result was serious. The entire 47th was mown down rather than sail across the black waters. The 34th was, later on, struck off the army list sooner than march to Sind without receiving allowance equitable with the English soldiers; and the 66th was disbanded for refusing to serve in Punjab without extra pay. The 38th refused to embark for service in Arakan during the second Burmese war; while Canning found to his helplessness that nine-twelfths of the whole Bengal army could absolutely refuse to serve beyond the seas. Charles Napier, Commander-in-Chief, was perhaps the first Briton who perceived the danger in the pent-up feelings and sentiments of the "natives" against the racial, religious and inhuman discrimination with which the English treated them and urged for a change in the English policy. But Dalhousie, the then Governor-General, who perhaps did more harm than service to his country, refused to acknowledge the necessity of "a just or fair

treatment to the natives," and proudly ridiculed the plea of the Commander-in-Chief. "There is no justification," he wrote, "for the cry that India was in danger. Free from all threats of hostilities from without, and secure through the submission of its new subjects from insurrection within, the safety of India has never for one moment been imperilled by the partial insubordination in the ranks of the army." While the Duke of Wellington, who lent a willing support to the outrages of his Governor-General, stated: "A close examination of the papers sent to me by Sir Charles Napier himself, with his report of the transaction, convinced me that there was no mutiny of the troops at Wazirabad in December 1849 and January 1850. There were murmurings and complaints, but no mutiny. But it appears, according to Sir Charles Napier's statement, that there existed in the country a general mutiny, which pervaded the whole army of 40,000 men in the Punjab in the month of January 1850."

The dangers whatever of the suppressed flames of the revolution which was stirring the minds of the people, however, were not invisible or unknown to the usurpers. In February 1856, Dalhousie, speaking in Calcutta with reference to the "Santal insurrection," said, "No prudent man having any knowledge of Eastern affairs would ever venture to predict a prolonged continuance of peace in India—insurrection may rise like an exhalation from the earth, and cruel violence worse than all the excesses of war may be suddenly committed by men who to the very day on which they broke out in their frenzy of blood have been regarded as a simple, harmless and timid race."[1] In August 1855, Lord Canning, at the farewell banquet given by the Directors of the East India Company, said: "We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which growing bigger and bigger may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin."[2] But the fanatics of the British Imperialism were mad with their undeserved power. They shelved aside the instructions of history, remembered and cherished the success of their arms and the terror they had inflicted at Buxar[3] and Vellore and proudly assumed that steel and fire could eradicate the opinions of the mind. It was here that they were undoubtedly mistaken. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exas-

1. R.W. Frazer, *British India.*

2. Ibid.

3. In 1764, at Buxar the prize-money paid to the English troops was refused to the sepoys. The native troops pleaded for their claims but nothing could persuade the English to honour their commitments. Eventually, the sepoys laid down their arms and declared their unwillingness to fight unless the promise held out to them was fulfilled. But the ungrateful English, instead of appreciating the justness of their claim, accused them of rebellion and condemned them to death. The four tall valiant grenadiers, the native officers, who used to lead their comrades on the battlefields and held as a right the foremost post in hours of peril now proudly stepped forward and claimed the privilege of dying first of those condemned to death for mutiny. They were tied to guns and blown to pieces. The same "retribution" meted out to others by the unflinching command of the racially mad Major Hector Munro.

perated by oppression and as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded are restored as penitents and those who have resisted are honoured as saints and martyrs. The insulting change had awakened an undying resentment and indignation in the minds of the people who, though reduced to a humiliating state of subjugation, were still not unconscious of their rule of centuries over this land. They were justly animated by a sense of honour, the love of freedom and the memory of their past greatness. The terrors of a military force silenced the outbursts of the uncautious and more impatient sections of the public; but their violence could not extinguish the smouldering fire of a national resentment. The hideous cruelty, on the contrary, converted the apprehensions of the people into a fearful despair and in due course provoked that despair into dangerous reactions.

Sayyid Ahmed

The common danger stirred up and imperceptibly united the inhabitants of India in the defence of their religions. The Brahman feared subversion of his long supremacy and, in spite of usurper's favours, he began to hate them. As for the Muslims, they were confronted with the situation of "to be or not to be." Religion leaped to the forefront as never before. Leadership fell from the hands of the stricken nobility. The people looked up and lent their ears for commands to the enthusiastic religious leaders who, inspired with the noble cause of recovering the lost prestige and regaining the lost authority, had devoted themselves to the Muslim revival. The immortal name of Sayyid Ahmed (not Sir Sayyid), who consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being to the national awakening and constructive thinking, can never be separated from the Muslim renaissance. He was a horse soldier, born and bred in obscurity, trained in arms but ignorant of letters. However, his mind was active and lively. The shocks of the new change and oppression of the Muslim name could not fail to excite his resentment against the British Imperialism. He left his occupation to blend with the exercise of arms the studies of religion and took to instructions under the celebrated scholar and political worker Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi whose penetrating eyes soon discovered useful virtues in the young devotee. Three years' labour of the divine teacher moulded and turned the pupil into a restless but resolute preacher, fired with an irresistible ambition to break the chains of the cruel servitude and to deliver Islam from the choking yoke of the English usurpers. Wrapped in a coarse garment and careless of personal safety, the zealous missionary traversed with speed and success from town to town and from province to province. He was abstemious in habits; and his prayers were fervent. His learning was much less profound or extensive than that of the scholars of Delhi and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oration of the Sayyids of Jaunpur; but he possessed that sincerity and vehemence of speech which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. He preached to innumer-

able crowds in mosques, the streets, and the highways; he preached austerity and self-reformation; he preached *Jihad*, sowed the seeds of a revolution, and invited the people to arms and sacrifice in defence of the nation and religion. The coldest nature warmed up and the firmest reason could not stand his call to repentance and arms. Every breast glowed up, when he explained the convulsions of the time, intrigues and designs of the English nation, the loss of liberty and honour and when he challenged the followers of Islam to defend their life and religion. The rumour of his "glorious arm" spread forth among the masses, and every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue. His fame preceded him wherever he went and he entered with equal confidence the palace of the rich and the cottage of the poor. Claims of age, birth and rank were suspended. The country turned obedient to his call and the respectful attention of the masses was fixed on the indefatigable Maulvi "as a possible deliverer." Sir William Hunter writes:

> "During 1820 the Apostle journeyed slowly southwards, his disciples rendering him menial services in acknowledgement of his spiritual dignity, and men of rank and learning running like common servants, with their shoes off, by the side of his palanquin. A protracted halt at Patna so swelled the number of his followers as to require a regular system of government. He appointed agents to go forth and collect a tax from the profits of trade in all the large towns which had lain on his route. He further nominated four Caliphs or Spiritual Vicegerents, and a high priest, by a formal Deed such as the Muhammadan Emperors used in appointing governors of provinces. Having thus formed a permanent centre at Patna, he proceeded towards Calcutta, following the course of the Ganges, making converts and appointing agents in every important town by the way. In Calcutta the masses flocked to him in such numbers that he was unable even to go through the ceremony of initiation by the separate laying on of hands. Unrolling his turban therefore he declared that all who could touch any part of its ample length became his disciples."[1]

A Revolution

The vigorous and ceaseless efforts of Sayyid Ahmed transformed the temper of the nation within a couple of years. The eager champions of the faith declared by solemn vows and oaths their readiness to unsheathe their swords in the noble cause of religion and earn the crown of martyrdom. Those who could not afford service in person offered liberal compensation of the purse. All over the country throbbed the deepest emotions which could sway the whole life of a people. But amidst the raging enthusiasm of the subject people, of

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1. W. W. Hunter, *Indian Musalmans*, Indian Ed. (1945), p. 5.

his countless followers and millions of well-wishers and, amidst the surging racial hatred of the foreigners on the other, Sayyid Ahmed stood calm, unmoved and reserved and could not be swept off his feet by the tempestuous heat of the passions. He was "supposed to possess the knowledge of divination"; some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment of Sayyid Ahmad, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic. But the great Maulvi refused to base his hopes on miracles; he firmly dissuaded the people from entertaining any idea "that the rivers would open for their passage, that the walls of the strongest cities would fall at his trumpets; and that the sun would be arrested in his mid-career to allow him time for the destruction of the infidels." His firm steadiness amidst such a difficult situation attests in him the breadth of vision and the penetrating genius of a great leader. With an unfailing prudence, the martial Maulvi correctly perceived the difficulties and dangers of an open uprising against an established military might and of the impotence of an unarmed rage of a subject people particularly when no hope of any foreign succour could be entertained. He correctly grasped the importance of an organisation and of a well-conceived and well-concerted action for such an enterprise. In his eyes, driving out of the English, from India, at that time, by the arms of war or rebellion was not possible unless backed by foreign aid, nor a preparation for such a war or rebellion was possible unless it was supported and directed by a foreign power, beyond the borders of British India. He therefore very discreetly avoided an immediate conflict with the English and planned to found a Muslim State in the upper Punjab which should serve a nucleus for the future operations of his great undertaking. He laboured with abundant success and knit up his disciples, supporters and well-wishers in a marvellous organisation. The revolutionaries in the shape of Maulvis, Pirs and Faqirs whom he appointed as his agents in the districts and towns became the warmest and the most effective missionaries of the crescent; they preached among their friends and countrymen the duty towards Islam, the merit and recompense of the "grand object" of their leader; and the most reluctant hearers were irresistibly drawn within the whirlpool of warm persuasion. There was no soul which did not share the throbbing for service in the noble and great cause; there was no purse which was not opened in liberal contribution. Under the very nose of the enemy, commands of the great Maulvi were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people. A highly disciplined organisation spread its wings over the vast lengths and breadths of India and began to work up for success of the new movement.

"The preaching of Sayyed Ahmad in 1820-22 passed unheeded by the British Authorities. He traversed our Provinces with a retinue of devoted disciples, converted the populace by thousands to his doctrine, and established a regular system of Ecclesiastical Taxation, Civil Government, and Apostolic

Succession. Meanwhile our officers collected the revenue, administered justice, and paraded our troops, altogether unsuspicious of the great religious movement which was surging around them."[1]

The Struggle

In 1823 he proceeded to the upper Punjab and occupied the unguarded passes and forts in that region. The reputation of the leader and his purpose of *Jihad* diffused a "universal ardour." The frontier and Punjabi Musalmans, animated by his arrival and inspired by their hereditary valour and new zeal, applauded the "great undertaking" of the martial Maulvi, flocked to enlist themselves in the "Army of Islam" and to do or die under his command. In 1825 the Maulvi was able to demand of the Sikhs to evacuate from the part of the Muslim homeland. By 1830 he had captured Peshawar, and established himself on the plains of the Indus. There he founded and built up a theocratic state. The unanimous choice of the "soldiers and the people proclaimed him the caliph"; and coins were struck in his name bearing the inscription, "Ahmed the Just, Defender of the Faith; the glitter of whose scrimitar scatters destruction among the infidels." The steady success of the Maulvi raised a fair hope of deliverance, but his chance death soon afterwards at Balakot disappointed the expectations and "prevented a possible re-establishment of Muslim rule in India."

The unfortunate state, founded by Sayyid Ahmed, fell after his death in 1831; but the spark of the new spirit and awakening he had kindled in the minds could not die. It set in motion a greater revolution under the cover of the defence of "Din-Dharam" (religion) within the borders of British India. The disappearance of the various native states within a short period of twenty-five years, the sad tales, supposed or real, of the misery and perils of the native rulers whom the people regarded as symbols of India's glory and liberty, in sharp contrast to the British Imperialism, and the desperate efforts of the victimised princes to escape destruction or cruel indignities from the English hands and to retrieve their lost power, widened the outlook of the revolution and rendered its task easier. It became a national movement, with the Brahman and the Musalman yoked together toiling for liberation of India and the people began to act and react fearlessly against the chains of slavery.[2] The doctrine of "lapse"

1. *The Indian Musalmans.*

2. "A proclamation was pasted on the walls of Jumma Masjid at Delhi, in which all true Muhammadans were called upon to be ready to join an army, soon to be sent by the Shah of Persia to retore the true faith and drive the English out of India. Among the people it was whispered that it had been prophesied of old that a white race should rule for one hundred years in the sacred land of India, and that now the days were numbered up since the field of Plassey. Rumours of change flew with winged speed. All men knew that strange things were happening of which they hesitated to speak; midnight meetings of the sepoys were followed by sudden and sullen disrespect towards. . . .officers. Nana Sahib was passing to and fro from Kalpi to Delhi and Lucknow. A learned Maulvi from Faizabad in Oudh had journeyed through Delhi, Meerut Patna and Calcutta, preaching sedi-

and annexations of Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, Sambalpur and Oudh—the richest garden of India, Dalhousie's refusal to continue the pension of the Ex-Peshwa Baji Rao to his adopted son Nana Sahib, and the proposal to do away with bedimmed splendour that still surrounded the Mughal Emperor, afforded fresh provocations to fan the public discontent and indignation, and excited an immeasurable compassion for the dethroned houses and in particular for the celebrated widow, known to the history as the Rani of Jhansi. Yet a greater and more important impetus was, however, gained from the fervent response and fierce reaction of the armed forces. As army is the most forcible engine of the absolute power, the English had applied themselves with peculiar diligence to corrupt the religion of the native troops. Among the various devices introduced and employed to shake off and destroy the religious beliefs of the sepoys, introduction of the cartridges specially greased with the fat of cows and swine acquired a country-wide notoriety. Cow was held sacred by the Brahmanic people, while pig was abhorred by Muslims. As men had to bite the cartridges before loading, it was expected that the soldiers would be defiled and excommunicated and thus many of the hurdles in the way of imposition of Christianity would disappear as "the excommunicated sepoys would eventually follow their foreign masters in the matter of faith as well." But the sepoys were more attached to the religion of their parents than devoted to the fortunes of the English rulers. They could follow their masters to the field of battle but not to the baptismal font. At once they saw in the new ammunition part of a deliberate attack on their faith and their temper disappointed the pious expectations of the foreigners. Careless of the consequences, they refused to receive and use those cartridges. But the usurpres were equally stern and determined to impose their will. The rigid persistence on the part of Imperialism further strengthened the convictions of the sepoys that the English were bent upon destroying the religions of India. The reaction was both great and important. The sepoys were driven and drawn into the embraces of what the Britishers called "The Great Sedition." Silently the revolution worked its way under the very nose of the English officers; and within a short time major parts of India began to vibrate with the deepest emotions which could, if coordinated, successfully break the shackles of the British Imperialism.

The movements like the "Feroze disturbances" at Barisal (Bengal) in 1831, under the leadership of Meer Nisar Ali, a disciple of Sayyid Ahmed and at Faridpur (Bengal) the same yaer under the guidance of Deedoo Meer, another disciple of Sayyid Ahmed; the

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tion, deftly weaving the hidden threads of a widespread conspiracy before the very eyes of the English officers, who smiled at the superstitious ways of the people who were sending Chapatis, or small pieces of unleavened bread, from village to village, none knowing why or by whose order, but all feeling that some strange secret was abroad in their midst."

Moplah outbreaks in 1849, 1851, 1852 and 1855 and the Santal rising of 1855-56, amply testify to the existence of the general ferment that was agitating the country. The last and severest storm, which shook the mighty fabric of the British Empire to its very foundation, now burst forth with an unprecedented fury in 1857, when the very troops who had won India for the English turned their guns against the Exploiters to liberate the bleeding motherland from the claws of the British Imperialism. From the women of Meerut to the Emperor of Delhi, from peasants to the soldiers and penmen to the commanders, every breast warmed with a resolute determination to shake off the British yoke. But to the great good fortune of the foreigners, there was present no Sayyid Ahmed nor any towering statesman who could seize the great opportunity, coordinate and unite the various isolated efforts which were made to destroy the fetters of the oppressive and contemptible servitude and strike a fatal blow.

WAR OF LIBERATION

Meerut Happening

A little more time, perhaps, would have knit up the revolutionary forces from Peshawar to Calcutta, to some better-planned and well-fixed programme; but a sudden turn at Meerut, an important military station thirty-six miles from Delhi, kindled the spark on 10th of May, 1857. The native troops at various places such as Barrackpur, Berhampur (near Calcutta), Dinapur, Ambala, had refused to receive the notorious cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows. The Governor-General, Canning, however, was adamant and anxious to inflict a lesson of obedience and compel the sepoys to use the very same cartridges. Under his directions the English officers at Meerut commanded the 3rd Native Cavalry on 6th of May, 1857, to use those cartridges and pronounced thundering threats of life-long imprisonment for those who would dare to disobey the orders of the Governor-General. Eighty-five out of the ninety sepoys refused even to touch the cartridges and, fearless of the dangerous consequences, they boldly declared that to them obedience to their religion was more important than the allegiance to the earthly masters. They were court-martialled and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. On the morning of May 9, all the Indian sepoys were assembled on the parade ground, and in front of them were marched down, under a strong guard of English infantry and artillery, those eighty-five men. The brave victims were stripped of their uniforms, insultingly handcuffed, and heavily ironed; and then, amidst an unbearable and provocative humiliation, they were dragged to gaol. The sensational disgrace of "the defenders of their faith" embittered beyond measure the resentment of the sepoys and the inhabitants of Meerut, and provoked them to avenge the insult to their brethren. The grave reaction resulted into a number of secret meetings in the night that followed and by the morning (10th of May, 1857) the native

regiments were in an open revolt. The sepoys swarmed into prisons, released their jailed comrades, murdered the British officers that they could lay hands on and burnt their houses: "*Maro Faringiko*" was on the lips of one and all. Arms and ammunition were snatched. Telegraph wires were cut off. Meerut stood liberated and enjoyed the glory of humbling the English arrogance. The English troops, who were well stocked with arms and ammunition and were in number more than sufficient to engage and scatter the mutineers, lost their nerve and exhibited utter want of personal courage. Instead of receiving the stroke of death with manly resolution, they ran for life in search of shelter and hiding places. This simple happening dashed the British prestige to the ground, and granted a good opportunity to the little fire to grow by sufferance into a wide conflagration. Next morning the liberators galloped on to Delhi. The 54th Indian regiment whom Colonel Ripley and his English officers brought out to check the advance of and to give battle to the Meerut sepoys, instead of fighting, welcomed the revolutionaries. "Let the English rule be destroyed!" and "Long live the Emperor!" shouted the liberators of Meerut. "Kill the Faringies" was the response from the Delhi army. The two armies joined hands and the enemy was cut to pieces. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier and knocking down every opposition, rushed with an irresistible enthusiasm to Delhi. The British authority was immediately dislodged and the flag of freedom began to flutter on the historic fort of the Imperial City.

National Movement

A salute of twenty-one guns was given in honour of the aged Mughal Emperor and of freedom. The leaders of the sepoys, both Brahmans and Muslims alike, stood before the dignified and magnificent person of the surprised Bahadur Shah, the nominal king whose name still conjured up in the minds of the people the vanished glories of the once mighty Mughal Empire. They pleaded, argued with the Emperor to accept the leadership of the Revolution. And when Bahadur Shah said, "I have neither troops, magazines nor treasury," they replied:

> "Only give us your countenance and we will provide everything. The English are defeated at Meerut, Delhi is in your hands, and all the sepoys and people, from Peshawar up to Calcutta, are awaiting your orders. The whole of Hindusthan has arisen to break the chains of English slavery, and to acquire their God-given independence. At this time, take up the flag of Liberty in your own hands, so that all the warriors of India may assemble to fight under it! Hindusthan has begun to fight to get back independence and if you accept her leadership, in a moment, we will either drown all these Faringi demons in the oceans

or give them as food to the vultures!"[1]

Though advanced in age, the sword and spirit of Bahadur Shah were still ready for the service of his country. By the unanimous election of the sepoys and the public, he was proclaimed and acknowledged the Emperor of Hindustan amidst great rejoicings of the people. Thenceforth by an inspiring proclamation issued in the name of the Emperor which exhorted the Indians to assert their freedom against the contemptible tyrants, the military revolt became an India-wide independence movement. The proclamation stated:

> "Let it be known that the only inducement we (Emperor) can hold forth is that of Dharma alone. Let all those to whom God has granted determination and will renounce the hope of property and of life and join us in this cause of our ancient faith. If the people sacrifice their private interest for the public good, the Englishmen will be exterminated from our land. It should be known that no one dies before his time, and when his time comes, nothing can save him. Thousands of men are carried off by cholera and other diseases; while to be killed in a war of *Din* (religion) is martyrdom. And it is the duty of every man and woman to kill or expel every Faringi from the land of Hindusthan. Let zeal for religious duty alone be the motive of those who join me, and not any worldly aspiration, though they who rise for the faith do get happiness in this world too!"

Yet another proclamation among the many that were issued later on reads as follows:

> "We solely, on account of religious duty, have joined with the people. Whoever shall, in these times, exhibit cowardice or credulously believe the promises of the English impostors will be very shortly put to shame and receive the reward for their fidelity to England which the rulers of Lucknow got. It is further necessary that all, Hindus and Mohammedans, unite in this struggle and, following the instructions of some respectable leaders, conduct themselves in such a way that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity."

Liberation of Various Provinces

Wisdom in capturing Delhi by "the liberators" at the first heat is quite obvious and commendable. The British pride was humbled in the dust. The announcement of Bahadur Shah's acceptance of the leadership of the independence movement and news of the liberation of Delhi and Meerut granted and gave the Revolution speed and a national character; and with travel of the news travelled the enthusiasm and spirit for rising. The defection was rapid and uni-

1. Charles Ball, *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 77.

versal; troops after troops deserted to the standard of freedom; and more than half of the provinces of India saluted Bahadur Shah as the "Emperor of Hindustan." By May 20, the regiments at Aligarh, Itawa, Miranpur, Bolandshahr revolted, freed those parts of the country and planted the flag of liberty in place of the Union Jack. On May 28, revolt of the brave regiments at Nasirabad finished with the British rule in that region. The 68th regiment and the cavalry at Bareilly—the capital of Rohelkhand—rose under the leadership of the dauntless jemadar, Mohammed Shafi, on May 30 with the slogan of "Die for religion, come, the green flag is calling you!" Muradabad, Shahj hanpur, Badayun and other towns immediately followed the example of Bareilly. The military, the police and the citizens, all combined and the entire province was liberated in one day. The Commissioner Powell and a few other English officers became Muslims and thus saved their lives. The subedar of the sepoy artillery, Bakht Khan, accepted the command of the sepoy troops. In a military oration worthy of himself and the occasion, he inspired his hearers with a determination to do and die for the great cause, and exhorted the able-bodied citizens to join the national militia. Khan Bahadur Khan, an able, brave and an indomitable descendant of the great Hafiz Rehmat Khan, was elected amidst great acclamations of the people as the vicegerent of the Emperor; and an inspiring proclamation, calling upon the people to rise equal to the occasion, was issued and posted throughout Rohelkhand. That proclamation which abundantly shows the temper of the time, ran to state:

> "Residents of Hindusthan! The long-looked for festival of independence has arrived! Are you going to accept or refuse it? Are you going to take advantage of this great opportunity or are you going to let it go out of your hands? Hindu and Mahomedan Brethren! Be it known to all of you, if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher all and put an end to your religion! The residents of Hindusthan have so long been deceived by Englishmen, and have cut their necks with their own swords. So, now we must repair this sin of treachery to our country! The Englishmen will try, now also, their old work of deception; they will try to incite the Hindus to rise against Musalmans, and the Mahomedans to rise against the Hindus. But, Hindu Brethren! do not fall into their nets. It is hardly necessary to tell our clever Hindu brethren that the English never keep their promises. They are adepts in the art of trickery and deceitful imposture! They have all along been trying to root out all other religions on earth but their own! Have they not pushed aside the rights of adopted children? Have they not swallowed up the countries and kingdoms of our Kings? Who took away the kingdom of Lucknow? Who has trampled under foot both Hindus and Mahomed-

ans? Musalmans, if you revere the Koran, and Hindus, if you revere the cow-mother, forget now your minor differences and unite together in this sacred war! Jump into the battlefield fighting under one banner, and wash away the name of the English from India in streams of blood. If the Hindus will, also, take the field for freedom of our country, then, as a reward for their patriotism, the killing of cows will be put a stop to. In this holy war, he who fights himself, and he who helps another to fight, by means of money will attain earthly and spiritual freedom! But if anyone will oppose this Swadeshi war, then he will strike at his own head and be guilty of the sin of suicide!"

Azimgarh rose on 3rd of June, Benares, the holy city, on 4th and Jaunpur on the 5th. By the 7th the whole province of Benares was liberated. At Patna the heartening courage of Maulvi Peer Ali, a religious preacher, immortalised his name. His lively eloquence inflamed the masses and his active genius organised the revolution. But as chance would have it, the Maulvi fell into the enemy's hands. He was thrown into prison and thereafter hanged to death. But the memorable words with which he spurned the repeated offers of pardon brighten the pages of history that records them and are a noble monument of his exemplary devotion to the national cause. While the rope lay round his neck, the English officer addressed him:

"Peer Ali, you might even now save your life by disclosing the names of the other leaders."

Turning calmly "to the Faringi," he replied in bold and noble words:

"There are some occasions in life when it is desirable to save one's life but there are some others when it is more desirable to sacrifice it! This moment is one of the latter kind, when to embrace death at once is the means of eternal life."

Then, describing the numerous acts of injustice and oppression committed by the English, the martyr said:

"You might hang me, you might hang other men like me; but, you cannot hang our ideal. If I die, thousands of heroes will rise out of my blood and will destroy your kingdom."

The Commissioner Tayler says:

"Peer Ali himself was model of a desperate and determined fanatic. Repulsive in appearance, with a brutal and sullen countenance, he was calm, self-possessed, almost dignified in language and demeanour. He is the type of the class of men whose unconquerable fanaticism renders them dangerous enemies and whose stern resolution entitles them in some respects to our admiration and respect!"

Allahabad rose with an irresistible zeal on 6th June. The 6th

native regiment cut down the Sikhs who had been summoned to terrorise the people and after heavy reverses the enemy shut themselves in the strong fort (of Allahabad).

At Cawnpore, Nana Sahib and his lieutenant Azimullah formed the nucleus of the revolution. But the name of the dancing girl Azizan, a beauteous maid of spirit, whose charming words warmed up the sepoy regiments with a thrilling enthusiasm to rise and shatter the chains of servitude, too has deserved a place in the history of the Cawnpore rising. During the progress of the war, she became more and more active; she attended the sick, consoled the wounded, cheered up the fatigued and animated the courage of the patriots. "The armed Azizan," writes Nanak Chand, "is flashing everywhere like lightning; often she stands in the streets giving milk and sweetmeats to the tired and wounded sepoys." The three native regiments stationed at Cawnpore rose under the leadership of the sepoy leaders Shams-us-din and Subedar Tikka Singh. On 25th June the English hoisted the flag of truce, and begged for a safe passage to Allahabad. By 27th June, the English rule was wiped out from Cawnpore. On 28th a salute of 101 guns was given in honour of the Emperor (Bahadur Shah) and, amidst the booming of guns and great rejoicings of the Brahmans, Muslims and all others, Nana Sahib was "proclaimed the Peshwa." His words, though shorn of verbiage, were as memorable as inspiring. He said: "This victory belongs to all of us. All have an equal glory therein."

Jhansi

On 4th of June rose Jhansi. Resaldar Kala Khan and Tehsildar Mohammed Husain of Jhansi, who had very skilfully and courageously organised the rising, boldly attacked and took possession of the Jhansi fort on 4th June. The English garrison escaped to the city fort. It is not unpleasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same imperialism which had all along disdained the prayers of an injured people. The city fort was stormed on the 7th and, after a sharp conflict, the English threw down their arms and implored the clemency of the liberators. Forthwith the flag of freedom went up to announce the defeat of the British garrison. The authority of Rani Lakshmi Bai was restored amidst great acclamations of the people; and a great proclamation that marked the great occasion reads: "The universe belongs to God, the country to the Emperor and the authority to Rani Lakshmi Bai!"

Oudh which provided a very fruitful soil to the seeds of revolution rose with a terrible fury. Here the brain of the revolution was the indefatigable Maulvi Ahmed Shah who had "deftly woven up" the hidden threads of a widespread and deep "conspiracy" under the very eyes of the English. But his daring designs were discovered just before the outbreak of the war of liberation and the patriot was immediately thrown in prison, tortured and sentenced to death. The

sufferings of the Maulvi whom people loved and whose absence they lamented, instead of calming down the emotions, exasperated their indignation and excited them to revenge. As the news of liberation of Delhi, Agra and Cawnpore reached Lucknow, the 7th infantry, the 48th infantry and the 7th cavalry (stationed at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh) violently threw off (on May 30, 1857) their mercenary allegiance at the face of the foreign exploiters and hailed the revolution. The fabric of the mighty Empire, which had been reared by the wickedness of successive decades, was overturned by the event of one single day. The districts of Sitapur and Mahmadi were liberated on the 3rd of June; Farrukhabad was freed on the 6th, while the defeat of Henry Lawrence at Chinhut on 27th June completed the destruction of the British authority in the entire province. The English were reduced to implore the protection from their menial slaves and prisoners; and those who could survive the tempest disappeared into hiding places. The standards of freedom went up into the sky everywhere; the free choice of the sepoys and their chiefs seated the young prince Birjis Kadr who was no more than seven years of age, on the throne of his father and entrusted the regency to his mother Hazrat Mahal, a princess who combined with her elegant genius the vigorous character of a resolute and fearless leader.

Behar rose under the leadership of Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur. At Indore, Saadat Khan, a nobleman of the Indore court, assumed the leadership, fell upon the English at the Residency and dislodged the enemy in no time. Yet worse was the fate that befell the English garrison at Kolhapur.

"India is Lost"

There were but 39,000 English troops in India to face more or less 2,25,000 sepoys supported by the national urge of independence. In the Punjab, John Lawrence, who had 10,000 Europeans in twelve regiments, could little more than hold on to his position, disarm and disperse the native troops. Dinapur (Calcutta) had only one English regiment as against the three sepoy regiments who mutinied on 25th July; while the Commander-in-Chief Anson at Ambala could collect no more than 4,000 English soldiers. Panic spread from Nagpur to Bombay, from Simla to Hyderabad and from Ambala to Calcutta. Every day came the news of daily defections and fresh and overwhelming disasters. The British nerve was paralysed. The terror-stricken usurpers, rendered incapable of any manly resolution, were seized with the cry: "India is lost." Gloom overshadowed the Empire. And as the war of independence progressed, the English rule (in spite of lack of coordination and concerted plans on the part of the liberators) reached the verge of subversion. But there is a Providence that watches over the affairs of men and works out of their follies issues unexpected and which could not have been accomplished by the wisest of their foresight. The pretensions of the English to its

peculiar care cannot be reasonably disputed. At a moment when their despair contemplated an appeal for mercy or a shameful withdrawal from India, a seasonable support of the Sikhs of the Punjab and Gurkhas of Nepal unexpectedly came to the rescue of the sinking Imperialism. The Sikh states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind which lay between Ambala and Delhi had "it in their hand either to establish the Revolution firmly or kill it." Even if these states had remained passive like many others, the Revolution had a great chance of success. But they decided to betray the motherland and even their own honour. They placed their treasures and forces, their arms and ammunition and resources and services at the command of the English. The Raja of Patiala posted under his brother a large force of Sikhs equipped with adequate artillery to guard the Thaneswar Road; while the Raja of Jind took up a strong position at Panipat. And when the Punjab Revolutionaries left their homes and proceeded to Delhi in reply to the Emperor's call to defend the national flag, these unpatriotic Sikhs blocked the passage of the unsuspecting patriots and slaughtered them with great violence and indignities. Sir John Lawrence says in his letter dated 21st October, 1857:

> "Had the Sikhs joined against us, nothing, humanly speaking, could have saved us. No man could have hoped, much less foreseen, that these people would have withstood the temptation to avenge their loss of national independence."

The British Commander, Anson, had shrunk to bones in utter bewilderment and despair and could not stir from Ambala for a long time. The "natives of all classes held aloof, waiting and watching the issue of events. From the capitalists to the coolies, all shrank alike from rendering assistance to those whose power might be swept away in a day." But the sudden tide of fortune in the shape of Sikh aid, which eventually proved to be the turning-point of the "Mutiny," pulled him up from the grave and enabled him to arrange the so-called "Siege train" for Delhi.

Dangerous Delay

The chances of success of a revolution lie in its suddenness and rapidity while drift and indecision bring it to a disastrous failure. Delay, which allows breathing time to the enemy, furnishes him with an opportunity to recover from the first shock and to guard against further mischief. While those who rise prematurely lose confidence when they see no one joining them; and a clever enemy seldom fails in wrecking the attempts of those who rise later. And that is exactly what happened in this case. The rising was premature and unplanned. After their success at various places, the sepoys did not know what next to do; nor had they the means of quick communication for exchange of information about the rapid developments that were taking place at various centres. As against this the enemy had the solid advantages of telegraphy system which conveyed the intelligence of the "Mutiny" to English centres and at once alerted them to

the danger. The indecision on the part of the sepoys and their want of planning gave the enemy time and courage to breathe and to recover from the first surprise and shock of the strange happenings and enabled him to prepare to meet the situation.

Revolution Killed in the Punjab

The entire Punjab was throbbing with revolution; but the lack of communications kept the native regiments in the Punjab and Peshawar ignorant of the great happenings at Meerut and of the liberation of Delhi. The greater part of the army in the Punjab at that time was stationed at Mian Mir (near Lahore) and the sepoys here outnumbered the English by four to one. While the Lahore fort was garrisoned purely by the native sepoys. "The British officers," however, had not had as yet "the slightest knowledge about the disaffection among the sepoys until the news from Ambala arrived; and when the news did arrive they found it difficult to ascertain whether the sepoys in the Punjab had thrown their lot with the liberation movement." A "faithful" Brahman detective was employed to "ascertain the mind and temper of the troops" and he reported to Montgomery: "Sahib (Sir), they are steeped in revolt—they are so far (pointing to neck) up to neck steeped in revolt and are only awaiting some news from Meerut and Delhi." The account of the mercenary Brahman "removed the veil from the smouldering fire of a revolution, restless to burst into flames." Montgomery and John Lawrence, it be said to their credit, rose to the occasion and with a great tact, befitting the difficult situation, had the entire mass of the sepoys at Mian Mir and Lahore fort immediately disarmed. The disarming was followed by well-planned shootings and massacres of the sepoys so as to strike terror in the minds of the people. Among the innumerable atrocities committed Holme describes one as follows:

"In the Panjab, near Ajnala, in a small island, many a Sepoy who had simply fled away from a regiment, which was working under the reasonable fear of being disarmed and shot by the Government for suspicion, was hiding himself. Cooper with a loyal body of Sikh troops took them prisoner. The entire number, amounting to two hundred and eighty-two, were then conveyed by Cooper to Ajnala. Then came the question what was to be done with them! There was no means of transporting them to a place where they could be tried formally. Ont he other hand, if they were summarily executed, other regiments and intending rebels might be prevented. For these reasons, Cooper, fully conscious as he was of the enormous responsibility which he was undertaking, resolved to put them all to death. Next morning, accordingly, he brought them out in tens and made some Sikhs shoot them. In this way, two hundred and sixteen perished. But, there still remained sixty-six others who had been confined in one of the bastions of the Tahsil. Expecting

resistance, Cooper ordered the door to be opened. But not a sound issued from the room; forty-five of them were dead bodies lying on the floor. For, unknown to Cooper, the windows had been closely shut and the wretched prisoners had found in the bastion a second Black-Hole. The remaining twenty-one were shot, like their comrades."[1]

The timely action taken by Montgomery and Lawrence decided the fate of the revolution in the Punjab and successfully prevented that province from joining the independence movement then in full swing elsewhere. Lawrence wrote:

"Had the Punjab gone, we must have been ruined. Long before reinforcements could have reached the upper provinces, the bones of all Englishmen would have been bleaching in the sun. England could never have recovered the calamity and retrieved her power in the East."[2]

Siege of Delhi

The English had at once realised the vital importance of Delhi; and as soon as they received the 8,000, Sikh levies of the Maharaja of Patiala, and the Rajas of Jind and Nabha to hold on the Punjab and were convinced of the faithful support of the Sikhs, their energies were directed towards and centred on the Imperial City. The British Commander-in-Chief, Anson, promptly completed the arrangements of his "siege train" and proceeded to Delhi on 26th May But the aged commander, wearied by despair, succumbed to frustration at Karnal on the 28th of May and Henry Barnard succeeded him to the office of the British Commander-in-Chief.

The British armies from Ambala and from Meerut, along with their Sikh and Gurkha troops, effected a junction on June 7 and the united army moved scatheless without any opposition right up to Bundel-ki-Serai, near Delhi. Getting intelligence of the approach of the British forces, the Revolutionaries, who trusted more to their courage than to their discipline or organisation and had nothing but the goodness of their cause to support them, hastily sent some troops to intercept the advancing enemy. Their leader was a prince who had never seen a field in his life. The conclusion was foregone. The hasty attack was repelled and the shrewd enemy pursued and pressed the easily vanquished "rebels" to the walls of Delhi. The invaders occupied, for their operations, a very favourable site, known as the Ridge—a long range of hills which almost touched the fortifications of Delhi at one of its extremities and extended to the River Jumna four miles ahead. At its back the wide canal of the Jumna, full with monsoon water, saved the ridge from an attack from behind. On all sides the ridge afforded a secure and hospitable shelter. The British

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1. Holme, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 333.
2. *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p. 335.

Commander, Barnard, and his officers such as Willerforce, Hodson, flushed with an easy victory at Bundel-ki-Serai, and, encouraged by the fresh reinforcements daily pouring in, and above all by the inferior organisation and equipment of the revolutionaries, were at once persuaded, to believe: "Now to take Delhi is not the work of even a day." But the British Commander preferred to be cautious and waited for yet more reinforcements.

Bakht Khan

Fortunately for Delhi in the meantime there arrived the revolutionary regiments from Rohelkhand under the command of the celebrated Bakht Khan whose name is now almost buried in oblivion and whose exploits are imperfectly known. He had served his comrades, under the British, with ability and signalised his intrepid courage and genius on many occasions. His merit was not unequal to his reputation. The news of his arrival gave a new courage to the native regiments, warmed up the citizens of Delhi with a new inspiration and animated the aged Emperor with a brilliant hope of success. Leading chiefs and nobles such as Nawab Ahmed Quli Khan, Hakim Ahsan-ullah Khan, General Samad Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Ghulam Quli Khan, received the Commander as "the deliverer of Hindustan." The Khan was unanimously elected by the armies as the Commander-in-Chief of the "Liberation Forces" and his nomination was received by the sepoys, the people and the provinces as a sure presage of an approaching victory. The valour and conduct, which he afterwards displayed in the defence of Delhi, justified the fame of his early achievements. The British officers trembled at the alarming intelligence of the arrival of a man who would transform the revolutionaries into an organised and formidable force and would in any case deserve the utmost effort of their arms. As for himself, his election served only to admonish Bakht Khan of his grave responsibility and inflame in his soul a fierce ambition "of delivering Hindustan" from the oppression under which it had been groaning for about one hundred years. Bakht Khan introduced a stern discipline, pressed the diligence of his troops and animated their hopes. The security of the fortifications was restored and offensive and defensive measures were organised. The vigour of his discipline confirmed the obedience and fortified the valour of the Delhi armies. The loss of a weapon was instantly repaired, and each deed of valour was rewarded by honourable gifts "of bracelet or a badge" which was rendered more precious by the appreciation of the Khan. He never hesitated to share the hardship of the meanest soldier. The sick and the wounded were relieved of their distress with medicine and money and still more efficaciously by the healing visits and smiles of the Commander. The cheerful example and untiring energy of Bakht Khan won him the esteem of the sepoys and the love of their chiefs. There was "a new vigour in the direction of events and Delhi, the mistress of India,

showed more ardour to defend than the mercenaries to acquire."

Heroic Defence of Delhi

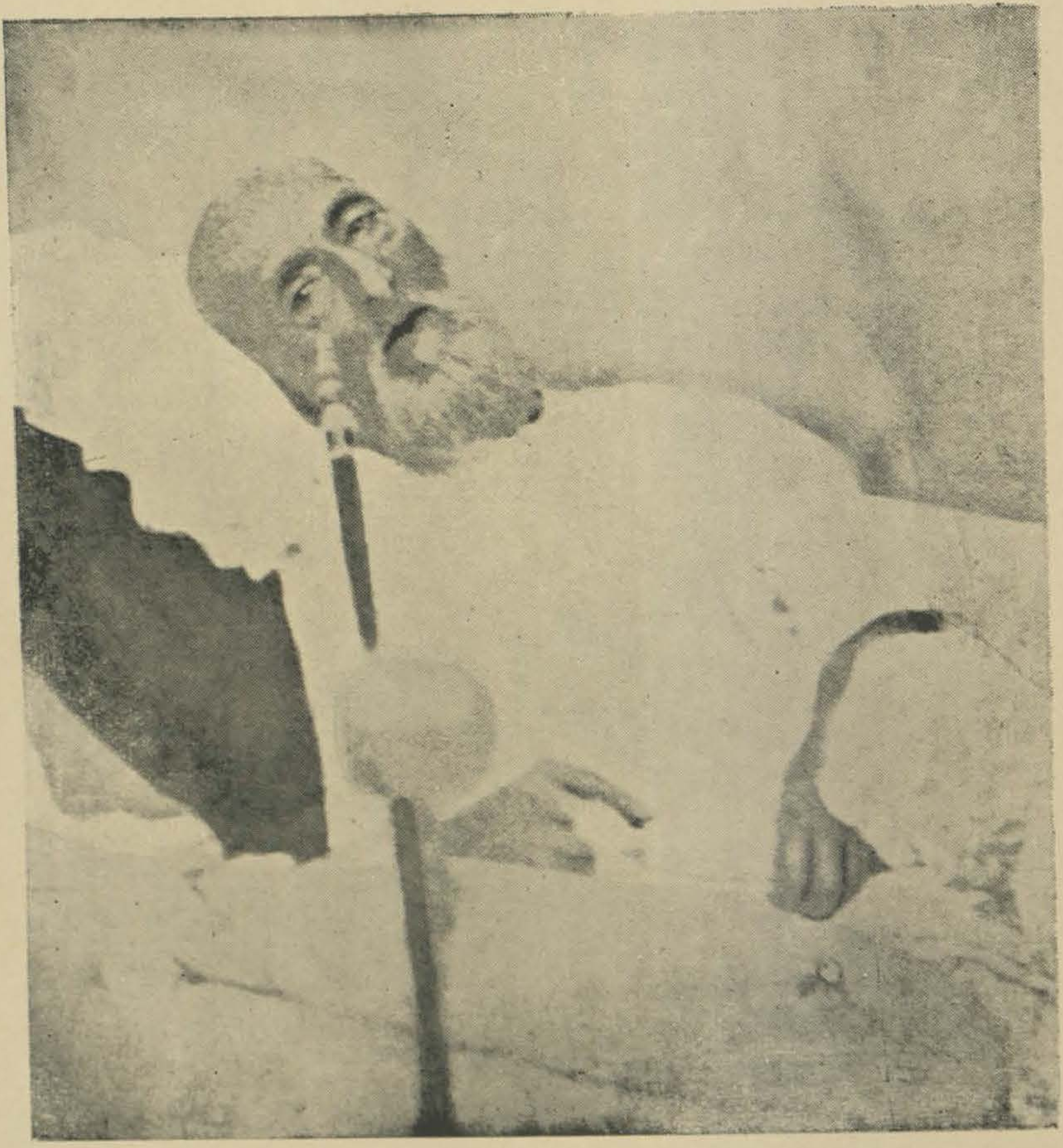
The two successive campaigns which followed soon rewarded the fatigues of the great general and the zeal of his sepoys. With active planning of Brigadier-General Chamberlian, and the famous military engineer Baird Smith, Barnard ventured on 4th July to deliver "a straight and bold" assault on Delhi. But the English were repulsed with fearful disaster; they again and again returned to the charge and were again and again driven back with dreadful slaughter, till the Gurkha legions who had signalised their disciplined courage at Bundel-ki-Serai, were literally cut to pieces. Bakht Khan then fell upon their rear, routed and pressed the entire mass of the Sikhs and the English as far as Alipur. The Commander-in-Chief, Barnard, could not sustain the shame and loss of the insulting defeat inflicted by the military genius of the Khan, and descended to grave with the despairing cry: "India is lost." General Reid, who succeeded Barnard in command, had a worse fate in store. He was soon disconcerted by the fierce sorties and the unknown resources of the military skill of his opponent. On the 14th of July, at the head of a small body of troops, which did not exceed five thousand men, Bakht Khan dashed with an irresistible charge, penetrated into the heart of the bewildered enemy and scattered death and destruction all round. "The besiegers are besieged," cried the panic-stricken Englishmen. The boldness of his charges and the stupendous losses caused spread the terror of his arms. The new Commander-in-Chief, General Reid, almost sank under the weight of shame and grief and became so unnerved and so hopeless of his nation's future in India that he resigned, and disappeared into the security of the Himalayan hills. The command of the British forces next came into the hands of Brigadier-General Wilson.

Treachery Succeeds where Arms Fail

The "rebel forces" fought with incomparable valour and admirable discipline. The initiative was almost snatched from the hands of the besiegers. Victory long hovered about and so often it came within the grasp of the sepoys. Fortune of Wilson almost seemed to have deserted him for good; and so often he took counsel for raising the siege. At such a time, when chance of arms appeared slipping out of hands, the cunning of the English General induced him to concentrate his attention on those arts by which his crafty ancestors had established the British Imperialism. Instead of repelling the native arms, Wilson bent his energies to seduce the fidelity of the Delhi courtiers, and to corrupt and disrupt the Delhi organisation; and his efforts in this direction soon succeeded to change the situation. The brave Bakht Khan and the brave Col. Gauri Shankar were but only soldiers; they were no match for the English cunning. They could wrestle against superior numbers, give battle to the English and maintain the honour of their arms; but the simple soldiers as they were, they were unable to contend and fight with treachery. The powder factory at Chariwala, which had been set up by the Khan

with great sweat and toil, was blown up by the hand of a traitor on August 7; the explosion scattered death and destruction amidst the mass of the devoted sepoys. Worse than that, it stirred up suspicion among the ranks of the defenders. The differences fomented by the hidden threads of the English manoeuvrings seduced away the Neemuch forces from the command of Bakht Khan. Munshi Mir Rajab Ali, Hakim Ahsanullah, the notorious courtiers of Bahadur Shah, and Ilahi Bukhsh Mirza were corrupted to betray the independence movement. On the one hand they conveyed to the English the intelligence of the secret plans and preparations of the patriots and, on the other hand, by their wicked counsels, they poisoned the ears of Bahadur Shah against Bakht Khan insinuating that he was endeavouring to install himself as the King. While the impartial spectators applauded the fortune and merit of Bakht Khan, the envious courtiers, rather traitors, secretly shed venom on every word and gesture of the Khan which might alarm the suspicions of the pusillanimous Emperor. The Khan endeavoured in vain to assure the Emperor of his loyalty and of the sanctity of his oaths; his arguments, his eloquence and his tears all were ineffective. The secret and artful whisperings of the traitors appeared more appealing to the aged Bahadur Shah and soon afterwards he abandoned the revolution in the thick of the warfare. The English intrigue succeeded where the English arms had failed. The betrayal of the mean courtiers and competitors, invisible to the simple defenders, turned success into failure, victory into defeat and freedom into slavery. The hand of perfidy multiplied discord and dissensions and the factious chiefs disdained the duties of subordination. The obstinacy, with which the revolutionary chiefs now began to dispute the vain honours of rank and precedence, and the ugly dissensions that arose wrecked the unity of purpose and destroyed the discipline of the sepoy forces; and while they acted with divided counsels, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the desperate enemy who now, encouraged by the return of fortune, anxiously waited for an opportunity to reimpose their dominance on the Imperial City that had so long successfully defied their arms. The discords of the short-sighted chiefs paralysed the morale of the troops and oppressed the people with a general consternation. Amidst the increasing gloom and spreading despair, "only Bakht Khan stood unshaken."[1] He yet rested his hopes on succour from other parts of the country, which never came. Every mode of resistance which skill could suggest or courage could execute was employed in defence of Delhi, and labours of the English were more than once destroyed by the fire of "the desperate rebels." But the naked valour could not "avert 'the inevitable.'" The revolution surrendered to treachery; and Delhi, which had so long obstinately resisted the siege, now, after a heroic resistance of one hundred and thirty-four days, fell by the incurable wound of treachery on September 20.

1. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals.*



Bahadur Shah in his last days at Tonghoo in Burma

By the free choice of the soldiers, people and the civil and military authorities, Bahadur Shah (aged 75), the titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi in 1857 was proclaimed as the Emperor of India and the head of the War of Independence. Revolutionary armies poured into Delhi from all quarters, fought under the Mughal standard with incomparable bravery and held the city for over four months.

After Delhi's fall, Bahadur Shah was publicly tried before a military court and was sentenced, on March 9, 1858, "to be transported across the seas as a felon." He was, then taken, to Rangoon and thence to Tonghoo, an inland station in Burma where he died in torments in British imprisonment.

He was a poet too and of merit.

Bakht Khan and his few surviving comrades, instead of submitting to and entrusting their lives and dignity to the faith of a mean enemy who must have insulted their valour, resolved with grief to depart from the walls which they had gloriously defended. Though all-round surrounded by the waves of the fierce and victorious enemy, oppressed by agitated multitudes and worn out by the tremendous fatigues, they still possessed an undeterred will-power and an undaunted courage; they fought and cut their way out. Darkness and tumult of the night favoured their escape. They eluded the eager search of the soldiers who had been instructed by their officers that the head of the Khan would be the most acceptable present to the British Commander. From that moment, Bakht Khan, leaving behind the tales of bravery and rare courage, disappeared from the public eye and retired into an impenetrable obscurity till death revealed his identity.

Sack of Delhi

Delhi was sacked and, according to the *Bombay Telegraph* report: "All the city people found within the walls, when our troops entered, were bayoneted on the spot; and the number was considerable, as you may suppose when I tell you that in some houses forty or fifty persons were hiding." "In the city no man's life was safe. . . . For several days after the assault," wrote Mrs. Saunders, "every native that could be found was killed."[1] The Emperor Bahadur Shah II, whose surrender had been secretly negotiated and managed through Munshi Rajab Ali and Hakim Ahsanullah at the tomb of Humayun, was tried under the instructions of John Lawrence, who regarded "the trial more as a Court of Inquiry than a Judicial Tribunal." There was never a question of execution because the Emperor's life had been guaranteed as a stipulation for his surrender. But more than that, under the trying situation of the time, the usurpers feared yet graver repercussions if they hanged him. By the decree of the martial court, he was immured into a perpetual prison at Rangoon to bewail his misfortune and that of his country. The miserable exile ended only when he died in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven. And with him came to an everlasting rest the great Mughal dynasty!

Failure of the Great Movement

In Oudh the soul of the Revolution was the dauntless Maulvi Ahmed Shah, also known as Ahmedullah, a patriot of Faizabad. His persuasive oration to the sepoys, active example on the battlefield and commendable stratagem of war completely subverted the British authority in Oudh and the surrounding areas and set up the flag of Independence. In the service of Freedom, the Maulvi had actively toured the country before the outbreak of what the English derisively call "Mutiny, warmed up the people with his animating

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1. Quoted in *Twilight of the Mughals*, p. 218.

speeches, talks and sermons and set ablaze Oudh and Rohelkhand with an unprecedented fervour. Malleson writes:

> "Before the mutiny broke out, the Moulvie travelled through India, on a roving commission, to excite the minds of his compatriots to the steps then contemplated by the master spirits of the plot. Certain it is that, in 1857, he circulated seditious papers throughout Oudh; that the police did not arrest him; and, to obtain that end, armed force was required. He was then tried and condemned to death. But, before the sentence could be executed, Oudh broke into revolt and, like many a political criminal in Europe, he stepped at once from the floor of a dungeon to the footsteps of a throne!"[1]

He constituted a serious menace to the British Empire for several months. Liberal rewards were promised to the man who would produce the Maulvi either alive or dead; and the most severe penalties were announced against those who should dare to follow or protect the "Public Enemy." But those rewards and threats were equally ineffectual. The Maulvi engaged the British forces twenty times; yet the entire strength of the English army and their faithful allies, the Sikhs and the Gurkhas, that had been mobilised in Oudh, could not crush the power of the patriotic leader. His stratagems which completely baffled the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin, furnish history with entertaining tales of courage and rare genius. If Sir Colin conquered Oudh, the Maulvi occupied Rohelkhand; and when Sir Colin reached Rohelkhand, the Moulvi wheeled back, emerged in and again occupied Oudh! Time and gain he inflicted defeats on, and time and again he was defeated by, the British forces; but his spirit was indomitable and his confidence in ultimate victory of the revolution remained ever unshaken. In May 1858, he reoccupied Oudh, which the English had, after a year's trouble and bloodshed, succeeded in sweeping clear of the revolutionaries. Here, while preparing for resistance, he sent a request to Jagannath Singh, the Raja of Powen, for help. The tiny Raja assured his services but with a treacherous design invited the hero to personal discussions. The patriot at once accepted the invitation, but as he reached Powen, he found, contrary to the promise held out, the gates of the town closed and the walls guarded by armed men and, in the midst of them, Jagannath Singh standing with his brother by his side. Undismayed by the cold reception accorded, the Maulvi yet hoped to persuade and win the Raja to the righteous cause, and fearlessly drew nearer. In the meantime the Raja's brother took a perfidious aim and Maulvi Ahmed Shah fell shot dead. The head was severed from the lifeless body of the hero and taken to the nearest British camp at Shahjehanpur. The English officers denied even the customary honour to the illus-

1. Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV, p. 397.

trious enemy who had fought against them so bravely and so honourably, and hung his head on the police station building as an object of great insult. The treachery of the fat Raja won for him a reward of fifty thousand rupees, but earned him an everlasting reproach of history. The "great" news spread with the lightning speed and the Englishmen "felt relieved of the most formidable enemy of the British in India."[1] The confessions of an enemy may be received as the the safest evidence of his virtues. Malleson, the English historian, observes:

> "The Moulvie was a very remarkable man. . . Of his capacity as a military leader many proofs were given during the revolt, but none more decisive than those recorded in this chapter. No other man could boast that he had twice foiled Sir Colin Campbell in the field! Thus died the Moulvie Ahmed 'allah [sic] of Fyazabad. If a patriot is a man who plots and fights for the independence, wrongfully destroyed, of his native country, then most certainly the Moulvie was a true patriot. He had not stained his sword by assassination; he had connived at no murders; he had fought manfully, honourably, and stubbornly in the field against the strangers who had seized his country; and his memory is entitled to the respect of the brave and true-hearted of all nations."[2]

The most prominent of the Englishmen, Henry Lawrence and Neil, were killed at Lucknow. Havelock, Outram and Inglis could make no impression until the new Commander-in-Chief, Colin Campbell, had collected there all the resources of the Empire and until the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Gurkha regiments from Nepal had poured in. Lucknow fell on 21st March, 1858, after the fiercest encounters; but the "revolutionaries, instead of submitting, took to Gurilla warfare." Oudh returned to obedience only after the brave Khan Bahadur, a man of iron nerve, was killed in an action on 8th May, 1858, and after Bareilly had been subdued more by money than by arms.

At Cawnpore Nana Sahib, the spirited Peshwa, avenged the innocent Indian blood, barbarously shed by the English, by putting to death almost the entire English garrison of Allahabad at Bibigarh. After a heroic struggle of a year or so, Nana Sahib, disheartened by the death of his faithful comrades, Azimullah, Maulvi Ahmedullah, Khan Bahadur and others, and by repeated reverses, disappeared into the jungles of Nepal and is stated to have died there. Jhansi successfully defied the enemy attempts for about a year. But when her faithful sirdars, such as Sirdar Karim Khan who valiently guarded the main gate, the heroic Ghose Mohammed, the head gunner, who manned the

1. Holme, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 539.
2. Malleson, *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV, p. 381.

native artillery, were killed, Rani Lakshmi Bai lost hope of further defence, left for Kalpi on April 4 and died fighting on June 17, 1858. The indomitable Tantia Topi, an able Maratha, who leaped to prominence at that time and proved to be no mean menace in the Central India, was given up to the British early April 1859 by the Rajput Man Singh, a feudatory of Scindhia and was hanged to death. While the Mughal Prince Feroze disappointed the British revenge by escaping in disguise to Baghdad.

Fortunately for the English, the regions south of the Narmada were not seriously affected by the revolution. Elphinstone managed to preserve comparative tranquillity in the Bombay Presidency, though the Indian regiments mutinied at Kolhapur; George Lawrence was able to keep Rajputana quiet. Gulab Singh, the Chief of Kashmir, Scindia and his minister Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Salar Jang, the Minister of Hyderabad, and Sir Salar Jang Bahadur, the Minister of Nepal, and various other Indian rulers and chiefs "rendered invaluable services to kill the independence movement." In the opinion of Innes, Scindhia's loyalty "saved India for the British." Holmes, well known for his important work on the history of the India mutiny, describes Sir Salar Jang as "a man whose name deserves to be ever mentioned by Englishmen with gratitude and admiration." While Russell, in his *My Diary in India*, states:

> "Our siege of Delhi would have been quite impossible if the Rajas of Patiala and Jhind had not been our friends and if the Sikhs had not recruited in our battalions and remained quiet in the Punjab. Sikhs at Lucknow did a great and good service."[1]

Whatever be the causes and whatever be the reasons, the "War of Liberation" was lost. But it marked a great turning-point in the history of India, and its reactions and consequences, far-reaching and unparalleled as they were, are inescapably felt today and shall continue to be felt for times yet to come!

1. *The Indian War of Independence (1857)*, p. 5.

CHAPTER VIII

MANOEUVRES SUCCEED

Massacres and Devastation after 1857; *Brutalities of the Victorious English—Plunder and Sack of Delhi—Unparalleled Ravages.*

Spirit of Liberation Remains Unbroken—A New Movement in the Hills; A Fresh Struggle—The Mujahideen, Their Character and Organisation; Source of Their Strength—British Attempts to Crush the New Movement; Their Failures—Change in British Manoeuvres; Fresh British Intrigues; Theological Controversies Caused; Split, Dissensions and Confusion; Setback to Mujahideen—Sir Sayyid's Anxiety to Prevent Further Destruction; His Efforts at Reconciliation with British Slavery; Abandonment of Politics—Loss of Objective—Spirit of the Nation Dies.

The Chosen Slave; His Past Exploits, the Caste System; the Brahmanic Atrocities—Annihilation of Dravidians and Buddhists—Spoon-feeding of the Brahman;—On Road to Self-Government—The Sordid Motive—Extirpation; Creation of the Hindu Structure; 150 *Million Non-Aryans Sunk beneath the Brahmanic Structure in order to Inflate Brahman's Numerical Strength—Brahmanism under the New Name; Hinduism—Conception and Birth of the Myth of "Indian Nation" and "Indian Nationalism"; the Wicked Aim to Raise the Brahman into a Permanent Majority and to Degrade Muslims into a Helpless Minority. Creation of "Indian National Congress"; the British Hands Rear "Indicn National Congress"; Extermination of the Non-Aryan Peoples—The Monumental Achievements.*

Massacres and Devastation after 1857

THE Brahman and the Muslim had been twined together by an unique patriotism and were inspired alike by the determination to overthrow the foreign yoke. They entered into the war of independence almost as equal partners, and shared the fatigues and honours of the struggle with equal enthusiasm. If the struggle for freedom was a crime, both were criminal; if the wish or determination to relieve India from the grasp of the British Imperialism was condemnable, both were guilty. But the unruffled prudence of the Exploiters which was capable of discerning between the useless pride and the general cause of the British Empire calmed the voice of resentment and counselled for the exoneration of the Brahman from the guilt of the "Revolution"; and the racial and imperial prejudices chose the Muslim for punishment, and burdened him with the entire responsibility of the "Great Conspiracy," the so-called' 'Mutiny of 1857." Nor was the religious scruple wanting to sanctify the crusade. The pamphlet of Henry Harrington published in 1858, which affords an

inkling into furious bigotry raging in the minds of the usurpers, states:

> "I have stated that the Hindus were not the contrivers, the primary movers of the (1857) rebellion; and I now shall attempt to show that it was the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy, which had been in agitation for a longer period than was generally suspected, though it was developed somewhat sooner than its authors had intended. Left to their own will and to their own resources, the Hindus never would, or could, have compassed such an undertaking....No, it is amongst the Muhammadans, not the Hindus, that we must look for the real originators of this terrible plot. . . .But, in order to comprehend in their full force the motives which induced the Muhammdans, more particularly than our other Indian subjects, to lay their plot for our extermination, it will be necessary to consider the character and tenets of the Muhammadans in general. They have been uniformly the same from the times of the first Caliphs to the present day, proud, intolerant and cruel, ever aiming at Muhammadan supremacy by whatever means and ever fostering a deep hatred of Christians. They cannot be good subjects of any government which professes another religion; the precepts of the Koran will not suffer it. They deem themselves placed in a false position under any but a Muhammadan dynasty. For this reason, no favours nor honours can conciliate them; . . . .they can dissimulate to perfection, until their opportunity presents itself; and then their true character becomes manifest. . . .But in India the Muhammadans had other motives for seeking our destruction, besides their rooted anti-Christian feeling. They could not forget that they had been the masters of the country for many generations, and they never ceased to persuade themselves, that if the British power were thoroughly destroyed they would recover their lost position, and once more lord it over the Hindus. They perceived the disaffection which had been spreading among the native regiments and fanned the flame by their intrigues. Well aware that no decisive blow could be struck without the cooperation of the Hindu troops and that the surest means of urging them to desperate measures was to convince the Brahmans, in the first place, that their religion was in danger, the Muhammadans artfully circulated a report which was echoed by the Brahmans, that the British Government was undermining the Hindu faith. In their determined character, their education and mental capacity, the Muhammadans are vastly superior to the Hindus who, comparatively speaking, are mere children in their hands. The Muhammadans, moreover, on account of their higher qualifications for business, have been more

generally taken into public employments, which afforded them facilities for becoming acquainted with the measures of Government and gave weight and importance to their assertions....the Muhammadans planned and organized the rebellion (or rather revolution) for their own aggrandisement alone, and that the Hindu sepoys of the Bengal Army were their dupes and instruments."

The sins of the Brahman were too quickly forgotten; while the guilt cf the Muslims was too deeply remembered. A breath of prejudice fanned the centuries-old vengeance into a mighty devouring flame.

Rising of the slaves, if it fails to win freedom or overthrow the foreign yoke, must increase the miseries of a defeat; but a success has never appeared more disdainful, dreadful and destructive than in the hands of the British who hated the valour of the Muslims, disdained their religion snd considered their existence as a challenge to the British Imperialism. A storm of terrible race-hatred, incapable of compassion or humanity, burst forth with an unrelenting and atrocious fury. Without the distinction of age or sex, Muslims were massacred and mown down like hem or grass. From Ambala and Meerut to Delhi, and from Delhi to Jhansi, and Patna, the country-side was stripped of its Muslim inhabitants and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beasts of the wood. The streets of Delhi, Patna, Lucknow, Allahabad, Jhansi and other centres streamed with blood and echoed with the shrieks of the raped women, and lamentations of the mothers and children. The mosques and the tombs, the huts and palaces, the houses and habitations were all alike the scene of ghastly slaughter and rapine; and no place, however sacred or sequestered, could protect the person or property of a Muslim.

Their mean fanaticism plunged the tyrants into the enjoyment and display of the various species of their cruelty. The patriots known or suspected died in dreadful torments and their torments were embittered with insults and derision. The fate of the important patriots was perhaps worse; some were plunged into cauldrons of boiling oil; others flayed alive and their skins, stuffed into human form, were mounted on scaffolds and exposed to trembling public as a dreadful warning to those who might entertain the sentiments of patriotism; others again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of night. In some cases, their hands were cut off, their ears and noses amputated and then either tied to horses' legs, or chained with public carriage, or mounted on asses, they were dragged through the streets and roads till death could come to their relief; and in other cases respectable citizens, their wives and daughters were chained together, stripped naked, torn with ghastly scourges; and burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The higher the status one possessed, the more cruel were the tortures employed. A simple speedy death

was an act of utmost mercy which one could obtain. The plight of Bahadur Shah, which has been recorded by the historians with care, was no less miserable. In flagrant violation of the promise and guarantee for safety and honour of the Royal family, Hodson brutally shot dead the Emperor's three sons, had their heads severed and their bodies delievered to dogs and vultures; and when the bodies had been badly bitten, the rascal, who is described not as a man but as one of infernal furies, tormented with insatiate thirst for blood, got them suspended between the earth and the sky to ridicule the "Gra ndeur" of the last Mughal. And yet, by a refinement of cruelty, the "great" Englishman arranged the severed heads (of the princes) in a beautiful tray, covered them with a silken cloth, carried the tray before the captive Emperor; and, thus addressing to the afflicted man:

> "We have not offered you presents since long; they (the presents) have been accumulating and now I have come to offer the same to you"

the fiend bowed with a wicked civility and uncovered the faces of the unfortunate princes before the eyes of the agonising father who had already been humbled into dust. But the outrage which the aged Emperor endured during his captivity in the "memorable two-room prison, perhaps, surpasses all the wanton insults and dishonour that were offered to him by the victorious British. As "a reward" for their surrender, Bahadur Shah and his queen, Zeenat Mahal, were lodged, rather confined, in a two small-room suite provided with a peep-hole which helplessly exposed the royal captives to the indignity of stare from the outside. The prison immediately gained the reputation of a "Zoo"! and constant streams of the brute enemy perpetually waited for a turn to enjoy "a stare" at the fallen royalties. The situation of the miserable victims can better be imagined than described; but there was no escape. It was after several months that the sentence of transportation to Rangoon could afford the much sought for relief to the Royal prisoners.

Sack of Delhi

Furious bigotry of the enemy, educated in the prejudices and religion of Peter the Hermit and nurtured and shaped amidst the traditions of the Crusades, pillaged, defiled and defaced the mosques, tombs and the houses of prayer and slaughtered with "pious" zeal the trembling multitudes of women and children and of the innocent and defenceless population who had sought protection of the houses of God. The holy books were profaned in the name of Christianity and burnt by their sacrilegious hands. The principal mosques all over the country were seized and confiscated. Licentiousness polluted the prayer halls of the famous Jamia Mosque of Delhi; prostitutes were brought in to sing and dance amidst the deep and silent curses of the chained and helpless spectators (Muslims) who were brought to witness their God humbled and their women violated. From brothal house, it was later turned into a stable. The house of God

suffered the vices and indignities for seven years up to 1865 when "clemency" of the rulers decided to auction the mosque.[1] The Fatehpuri Masjid (Delhi) experienced yet a worse fate; stained with the blood of thousands of innocent lives, it was turned into a military barrack; its quadrangle and shops were auctioned to a Brahmanic bania; and for over thirty years this house of wo ship endured the scandals and licentiousness of the British troops. The beautiful "Ornament of Mosques" in the Daryaganj quarter (Delhi) built by a daughter of Aurangzeb and famous for its beauty and the taste of its builder, after having been stripped of its gold and silver, was delivered to flames and all that breathed therein perished. Thus defiled and defaced, the famous mosque was turned into a bakery store and was peopled by rats and pigeons for about fifty years.

Delhi had yet another writhing misfortune to its lot. The victorious commander of the imperial city fondly believed that wealth of nations and centuries lay deposited in this seat of royalty and commerce. After his licentious troops had satiated their rage and avarice, an edict was promulgated which enjoined all persons without distinction of sex or rank to deliver without delay or fraud their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable apparels and utensils to the Imperial Officers. Every species of indignity and torture was employed to force from the trembling people a discovery of their hidden wealth; and the attempt to secret any part of their patrimony was instantly and inexorably punished with death and torture as an act of disloyalty and treason against the state. After this humiliation and having been thus relieved of their valuables, the defenceless people were obliged to evacuate their homes and hearths where they and their parents had been born, brought up and lived their lives, and confined like beasts and animals in the shelterless plain beyond Kashmir Gate to suffer the atrocious profligacy of the troops and the rigours of winds and storms and of starvation and pestilence. Meanwhile a rapacious digging for treasures and vigorous search for plunder despoiled and demolished every hut and habitation, every house and palace and every tomb and mosque. "After this first collapse, the reaction of exhausted and over-wrought men," describes Percival Spear, "there followed a more systematic reign of terror, which lasted for several weeks. The whole population of Delhi was at first driven out. Mrs. Saunders wrote in the same letter of 25 October, 'every house in the city was desolate and many of them injured. . . . The inhabitants of this huge place seven miles round are dying daily of starvation and want of shelter. The Prize Agents are digging for treasure in houses where rich Natives are said to have hoards.' In December another observer reported that the search for plunder still continued; 'he visited the outlying bands of fugitives from the city, and found a very serious share of misery and sickness among the lower orders, the infirm and those with large families.' 'Is private plundering still

1. It was purchased by Muslims as the highest bidder.

allowed? Do officers still go about shooting natives?' wrote John Lawrence from Lahore on 12 December. There was much indiscriminate shooting besides drum-head court martials and summary hangings."[1] Thousands of families disappeared and with them were buried many curious and interesting facts. No facts were allowed to survive which could sustain an account of the exact numbers that perished in the India-wide calamity; but a fair conjecture can be entertained from the loss of one and a half million inhabitants whose blood soaked the soil of Delhi. Fire and sword, gun and bullet and digging and demolition scattered destruction and ruin. The disaster was unparalleled both in enormity and extent. The barbarians of Britain surpassed, beyond measure, Attila in his tyranny, massacres and ravages, and befittingly deserved the epithet of the "Scourge of God."

Devastation

The riches, fortunes and properties of Muslims were confiscated and granted or auctioned to the Brahman and the Banias by a system of "ticket holding which enriched the British Treasury by £270,000." The inhabitants who escaped starvation and pestilence were now allowed by a strict regulated permit system to return to the city; and except Ghalib, the poet, who had endeared himself to the enemies of his nation by his unquestionable loyalty and service, no Muslim was permitted to settle in the imperial city which for centuries had formed the seat of Muslim kings and maintained the proud distinction of being the most populous and best developed Muslim town.

Multitudes of the brave men had fallen fighting on the field; numbers beyond reckoning were burnt or slaughtered in the general massacres that followed; and the less fortunate who could escape the massacres found an army of informers to pursue them and gibbets to hang them; they survived only to behold the disgrace and molestation of their women and persecution of their families. The numerous Brahmanic community which covered the face of the country and had, by the change of fortune, at once deserted the sinking cause of patriotism, discharged with devout fury the office of spies to dig out the Muslim revolutionaries and zealously observed and reported every action, word or look of the unfortunate people to their victorious masters. Every hamlet suspected to harbour the fugitives was searched and every house likely to shelter them was condemned to flames; and anyone suspected of giving shelter was flogged to death. Gallows were put up on public places; the slightest suspicion or accusation was enough to send even the noblest and the most innocent of the citizens to the arbitration of the rope. In cases where identity of a suspected person was not speedily established, public justice was met by hanging all the persons bearing the particular name.

1. Percival Spear: *Twilight of the Mughals*, pp. 218-19, Cambridge University Press.

"Volunteer hanging parties went out into the districts and amateur executioners were not wanting to the occasion. One gentleman boasted of the numbers he had finished off quite 'in an artistic manner,' with mango trees for gibbets and elephants as drops, the victims of this wild justice being strung up, as though for pastime, in 'the form of a figure of eight.' "[1]

Military officers constituted the mobile courts. Suspicion was equivalent to proof and trial to condemnation.

"Officers as they went to sit on the court martial swore that they would hang their prisoners guilty or innocent and, if any dared to lift up his voice against such indiscriminate vengeance, he was instantly silenced by the clamours of his angry comrades. Prisoners condemned to death after a hasty trial were mocked at and tortured."[2]

Spirit Remains Unbroken

But neither the defeat nor the wreck and ruin that followed could bend and break the spirit of the nation. The Musalmans disdained to be the slaves and subjects of Her Britannic Majesty. But freedom of expression or association was unimaginable nor any political activity was possible within the borders of British India. The numerous patriots under the various leaders, such as Maulvi Mohammed Ishaq, Mohammed Yaqoob, Maulvi Abdullah, eluded the vigilance of the British authorities and escaped to the west of Indus towards the spurs of the hills of Hindu-Kush where remnants of the followers of the "Sayyid Ahmed" now lived in obscurity. They derived, from the resentment against the enemy and the desperate enthusiasm for 'Liberation of India," a perpetual supply of voluntary associates from India. Soon the sequestered hills grew up into populous colonies. By the necessity of the situation, the voluntary exiles were cast into the rough model of a republic where will of the community was absolute and rights of individuals were sacred. They studied the Qu'ran with less skill than devotion and it is a very honourable circumstance for the character of those people that even their faults rather errors were derived from an excess of virtue. Animated by a contempt for selfish existence and steeled by an overpowering confidence in immortality, of which the degenerate faith of modern ages cannot give an adequate notion, the patriot leaders commanded the veneration of the people. "Jihad" for "liberation of India" from the British yoke was preached as the noblest ideal of life. Every man became a soldier and every soldier was a candidate for martyrdom. The settlements at Mulka, Sittana and Bonair developed into strong fortresses and the hills began to echoe and re-echoe with the clamour of arms, and clamours of "independence or death."

Fresh Movement in Hills

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1. Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 177.
2. Holfes, *History of the Sepoy War*, p. 124.

Second Phase of the Struggle

The efforts of those zealous patriots[1] united the "Akhund" of Swat, Ghazan Khan, the ruler of Dher, Faizullah Khan of Bajour, the Haji of Kunhar, and various other warlike tribes of the Frontier, to raise arms for the deliverance of India. A secret correspondence established the contact of the hills with various centres (in India) organised by their adherents and fellow-workers. Being masters of pen and theological erudition, their stirring literature tempted and provoked the Indian Muslims to disclaim the badge of slavery which was no less injurious to their religion than to their country. Their pathetic narratives of the oppressive servitude and of the tyranny of the foreign yoke reawakened or rekindled the desire for freedom and aspirations of the injured and oppressed people. Their example and progress revived faint hopes and the eyes and wishes of the people were once again turned towards the heroes who had embraced the hardships of soldiers in their cause. They were looked upon as the oracles of the religion, and stood forth as the deliverers of their country. The zeal of the nation was once again inflamed and both men and money began to flow into the hills. The progress and success of the new movement may fairly be judged from the observations of the enemy.[2]

> "The summing up of the Judges shows that the Wahabi preachers have drifted away to certain slaughter, batch after batch, of deluded youths, generally under twenty, and often without the consent of their parents, from nearly every District of Eastern Bengal. That they have introduced misery and bereavement into thousands of peasant families, and created a feeling of chronic anxiety throughout the whole rural population, with regard to their most promising young men. No Wahabi father who has a boy of more than usual parts or piety can tell the moment at which his son may not suddenly disappear from the hamlet."

British Attempts to Crush and Their Failures

The growing strength of the Mujahideen soon attracted the notice, aroused the fears and invited the arms of the enemy, for crushing the "evil" before it could become a menace. The British General, Sir Sidney Cotton, advanced through Durgai with speed, and burnt with rapine and slaughter the defenceless villages and solitary habitations of the natives. Almost without resistance he reached Sitanna, and, with an apparent satisfaction of a triumph, put to flames the unwalled settlement. But his buoyant hopes were soon turned into bitter disappointment by the sudden and dreadful appearance of the Mujahideen who showed more skill to defend than the mercenaries

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1. These patriots and their associates and workers in India were called "Mujahideen" or "Mujahids"; but the contempt of the British coined for them a repulsive name "Wahabi."
2. *The Indian Musalmans.*

to besiege their homes and hearths. The Mujahideen spread themselves at once over the face of the country, barred all passes of retreat and besieged the British forces. The impetuousity of their charge and rapidity of their operations surprised and totally upset the grave and elaborate tactics of the enemy. With a slaughter of five thousand of his men, the trembling general, hopeless of relief, was reduced to await his fate in an exasperating inactivity of extreme despair. Retreat was impracticable and resistance was futile. The pride of the Imperial Government was humbled to sue for peace. An ignominious retréat was purchased and a regular payment of money under the name subsidy, stipulated as a condition of the temporary and precarious peace, proclaimed the insulting defeat of the mighty empire.

The rapid operations and bloody engagements of the campaign appear to have magnified the power and number of the Mujahideen. But their courage was certainly most deserving of praise; a light squadron of two-three thousand men would often attempt and execute the most daring inroads to the gates of the British cantonments. Their strength which could not be destroyed by the British arms, however, was soon undermined by the British intrigue. The British gold sowed the seeds of fierce discord and effectively detached away the allegiance of various tribes from the Mujahideen organisation. Some of the tribal chiefs who deserted the revolution openly acknowledged themselves as allies of the British and enemies of the Mujahideen. Frightful dissensions progressed; the hills torn with suspicion and jealousy were involved in armed conflicts and mutual destruction. In 1859, the enemy beheld with relief and joy the assassination of Sayyid Umar Shah, the soul of the revolution and the acknowledged leader of the Mujahideen and the confederating tribes, by the Atamzai men. The movement suffered a great setback and continued to languish for about three years till the mercenary attachment or momentary submission to the enemy, of those who had been led astray, yielded to their own or public reproach and a fresh noble impulse of "Jihad" disappointed the calculations and hopes of Imperialism. In 1861, we find the hillmen again united and freely ravaging the enemy outposts and pickets. In early 1862, their united will and ambition entertained a bold but sanguine hope of subverting the British Imperialism. A formal manifesto of war for deliverance of India was issued from "Mulaka" and all "good Musalmans" were summoned to their assistance in the sacred cause. The appeal was not fruitless. Before long the incessant stream for the Indian Muslims, flowing into the hills in response to the "Jihad" manifesto, threatened to transform the spark into a mighty conflagration. In the beginning of 1863, light troops of the Mujahideen descended from the hills, routed the English pickets at Nawgiran (on bank of Indus), disoldged the British authority, crossed the Indus and fearlessly reached Rawalpindi.

The Punjab Government which had been anxiously watching the situation had long before grown nervous and urged, as early as 1862, the higher authorities for a "Frontier War." The British Government as well, apprehending the danger, had decided for military action and, by October 1863, its preparations, not unworthy of a great empire, were complete. The English Army under General Sir Neville Chamberlain, equipped with a train of artillery and 4,000 mules and other beasts of burden, marched through the Ambeyla Pass to crush the defiant nationalists. The supposed "crimes" of the Mujahideen were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful husbandmen, conflagration of their villages and habitations and massacre of their families. However on this occasion as well, the military skill of the hillmen deceived and almost destroyed the army of Her Britannic Majesty. This time, too, without resistance, the invaders entered into the hills. Fortune betrayed them only thereafter. The invisible defenders suddenly swooped down and the great general had the mortification of seeing his troops fly before an inconsiderable number of the Mujahideen who pursued them to the edge of their fortified camp. Many of the troop were consumed with fatigue of the long operations and fear of the foe; more than ten thousand were killed by "the enemy action"; but more than that the furious attacks on his camp unnerved the wearied general. It was impossible to advance and still more dangerous to retreat. All round exposed to vexatious bullets, the "great" general was obliged to consul his safety and the "honour" of Imperialism in suing for a humiliating retreat. Sir William Hunter describing the campaign relates:[1]

> "Next evening a column entered, by a night march, the defile overgrown with brushwood and over-hung by trees, disastrously known as the Ambeyla Pass. Our base of operations was held by a strong cordon of troops, and behind these were the heavily garrisoned Frontier Stations, filled with Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery.
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> "It was fortunate that the invading force was thus supported; for on the 20th the General found that the tribes whom he had considered friendly were wavering, and two days afterwards he telegraphed to Government that the force had had to come to a halt before getting out of the pass. On the 23rd the opposition of the tribes declared itself. The Bonairs attacked a reconnoitering party, and a few days later the Spiritual Head of the Swat Principality threw in his lot with the enemy. Meanwhile, telegram after telegram reached the Government from the Frontier, begging for more and yet more troops. Our army had got locked up in a perilous defile. A wing of the Firozpur Regiment was ordered to the Frontier. Another Regiment of infantry

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1. *The Indian Musalmans.*

had to be hurried westwards from Peshawar. The 93rd Highlanders advanced by forced marches from Sialkot, and the 23rd and 24th Native Infantry from Lahore. Before three weeks were over, the Panjab Stations had been so denuded of troops, that the officer commanding at Mian-mir could with difficulty supply a guard of twenty-four bayonets for the Lieutenant Governor.

"Meanwhile the tribes were closing in upon our Army. To advance was impossible; to move backward would have been worse than defeat. . . .

"In spite of the reinforcements, our General found it impossible to advance. The British Army lay for weeks, to all appearance cowed within the Pass, not daring to emerge into the Chumla Valley. Meanwhile the enemy threatened us simultaneously in front; upon our left flank; and on our rear communications. The Panjab Government anxiously inquired on the 8th November, if the General, on receiving a reinforcement of 1,600 infantry, would advance to destroy the Fanatic Colony at Mulaka. On the 12th the answer came that 2,000 more Infantry and some guns would be needed in order to render any forward movement practicable, and with the dispiriting intimation that the General deprecated any advance on Mulaka until the intermediate tribes could be bought to terms.

"The whole Frontier was now aflame. On the 4th November the Panjab Government had found its military line so dangerously stripped of troops, that it borrowed a part of the escort belonging to the Viceroy's camp, and hurried forward the 7th Fusiliers to the Frontier. A strong body of military police, horse and foot, were also sent to protect the rear communications, which the enemy had threatened. For the transport equipage, 4,200 camels and 2,100 mules were pressed in hot haste, and at an enormous cost, from our Panjab District. By the 14th November things had assumed a still more serious aspect, and the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India hurried up to Lahore, and assumed the direction himself.

"The truth is, that the Plan of the Campa gn had completely failed. . . .

"On the 18th the enemy had attacked us in force, taking one of our pickets, and driving us back with a loss of 1,114 men, killed and wounded, besides officers. Next day the enemy again captured a picket in which our General was himself dangerously hit, and 128 men, besides officers, left killed our hors de combat."

"A great political catastrophe was now dreaded; our army, wearied out with daily attacks, might at any moment be seized with a panic, and driven back pellmell, with immense slaughter, through the Pass. Such a misadventure, although costing fewer lives than a single great battle, would have ruined our prestige on the Frontier, and entailed political disasters, the end of which it was impossible to foretell. The Panjab Government accordingly decided that, if General Chamberlain found it needful, the whole force should retreat to Permauli."

At this moment when the British arms were completely disappointed, the proverbial British diplomacy once again rose to save the remaining British troops in the valley of death. The British gold once again excited the avarice, a national vice of the Musalman, of a few chiefs, purchased their reconciliation and through them managed another ignominious retreat. In the words of Sir William Hunter: "What our arms had failed to accomplish, dissensions and diplomacy began to effect."[1] The Mujahideen faithfully respected their obligations during the retreat of the British Army. But while the "ill-fated Ambeyla Pass," thickly planted with the graves of the British soldiers bewailed the fate of the English Army, the British Commander had the cheek to declare on December 25, 1863, that "not a single shot" was "fired on the British Army on his homeward march." Hunter commenting upon the situation pathetically observes[2]:

"So long as we left it alone, it steadily sent forth bands to kidnap and murder our subjects and our allies, when we tried to extirpate it by arms, it baffled our leaders, inflicted severe losses on our troops, and for a time defied the whole Frontier Force of British India.

"It is easy to understand how a Settlement of traitors and refugees, backed by the seditious and fanatical masses within our Empire, could, in an access of bigoted hatred, throw down the gauntlet. But it is difficult to comprehend how they could, even for a time, withstand the combined strategy and weight of a civilized Army."

The arts of British diplomacy once again fomented dissensions among the Mujahideen and the tribal chiefs and sustained the flame of discord and jealousy among them for about two years. But by the beginning of the year 1866, the untiring and inspiring efforts of the prudent and formidable Maulvi Abdullah succeeded in defeating the British measures. The chiefs yielded to his persuasive eloquence and once again rose above the mean avarice and mutual jealousies. The dissensions were healed up and all were reunited and once again resolved to "liberate" India from the foreign yoke. Their reunion

1. *The Indian Musalmans.*
2. Ibid.

and resolve was confirmed by the mutual obligations of a solemn oath. After making some preparations the squadrons of the Mujahideen drove out the various frontier posts, passed and contemptuously repassed before the British cantonments. In February 1867, they attacked and occupied Agror Valley and once again called upon the people of India to unite with them in the noble cause. The British Government issued a "stern" warning and proclamations to the hill clans, reciting how certain tribes, "who had in no respect been interfered with or oppressed, after attacking a British outpost, entered our territory with arms and flags, burning sundry villages, and rendering retribution imperative. The British Government can bear with you no further, and calls you to account for the above acts." The Commander-in-Chief of India despatched the British forces on October 30, 1867, under the command of General Wilde, C.B., to retrieve the honour of Imperialism and extirpate "the evil for good." The General with great enthusiasm retaliated on guiltless peasants, the acts of rapine and cruelty which were alleged to have been committed by the Mujahideen. Sir William, describing the events, writes:[1]

> "I do not propose to detail the events of this campaign. During July, urgent telegraphic messages had come from the Panjab Government giving notice of the storm. 'The warning was so urgent,' wrote the Quarter-Master-General of the army, 'and the call for assistance so imperative, certain detachments of our troops being in fact beleaguered by the insurgents, that the Government of India lost no time.' Taught by the disasters of 1863, the Commander-in-Chief, instead of weakening the Panjab Military Stations, or drawing detachments from our posts along the border, brought up regiments from the North-Western Provinces. Besides the operating column, numbering between 16,000 and 17,000 Regular Troops, the whole force on the Frontier was nearly doubled, and the flower of the British Army in India was concentrated against the fanatical mountain tribes.
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> " 'The spectacle has been seen,' wrote the Quarter-Master-General of British troops, European and Native, operating over and among mountains 10,000 feet high, the General in command himself being without a tent. 'Nevertheless we failed to reach the heart of the evil.' "

This time too Imperialism tasted full measure of the expenses and burden of a war; but the campaign ended in no smaller disaster and in no less disgrace than before. Hunter observes: "The Panjab Government, in summing up the results of the Campaign, recorded its regret that it had come to a close without our having been able either to drive out the Hindustani fanatics, or to induce them to surrender and to return to their homes in Hindustan."

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1. *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 32-33.

With unequal arms the Mujahideen disgraced and successfully resisted for thirteen years the arms of the British Government. Three Governors-General of India were repeatedly baffled by those vaxatious "rebels" whom it was dangerous to attack and impossible to extirpate. In the fullness of its acquisitions the British Government helplessly felt at its bos m this semi-domestic thorn whose presence on the frontiers held out a grave danger of disturbances both within and beyond the limits of British India. As Hunter observes:

> "Besides constantly keeping alive a fanatical spirit of unrest along the Frontier, it has three times organized great tribal confederacies, each of which has cost British India a war. One Government after another has declared it to be a source of permanent danger to our Rule, yet all our efforts to extirpate it have failed. It still continues the centre towards which the hopes alike of our disloyal subjects and of our enemies beyond the Frontier turn."[1]

The great struggle, however, so far had borne no fruit. In fact, in the absence of another front opened by some foreign invasion, the ultimate issue of a conflict between a vast military state like the British Empire and a coalition of a few tribesmen and Mujahideen, however brave, could not be doubtful. Their inferior numbers and limited resources were ever insufficient for the task of subversion of a mighty empire. But the movement possessed a dangerous and potential importance of its own; and the British were not unaware of the same nor were their fears unjustified. Hunter relates:

> "It is not the Traitors themselves whom we have to fear, but the seditious masses in the heart of our Empire, and the superstitious tribes on our Frontier, both of whom the Fanatics have again and again combined in a Religious War against us. During nine centuries the Indian people have been accustomed to look for invasion from the North; and no one can predict the proportions to which this Rebel Camp, backed by the Musalman hordes from the Westward, might attain, under a leader who knew how to weld together the nations of Asia in a Crescentade."[2]

Change in British Manoeuvres

The enemy had discovered quite early that the roots that supplied nourishment and sustenance to the Mujahideen in the hills emanated from within the borders of British India; but the haughty presumption of their might and resources could not take a serious notice of the happenings within their limits. Here, apart from the oppressive slavery, restraints on free profession and exercise of religion and liberty of conscience called aloud for destruction of the

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1. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 35.

fetters of the British yoke. Islam offered no philosophy to support slavery. Voluntary exile appeared less grievous than servitude. It was from this contempt against the foreign yoke that the new revolution got a constant supply of volunteers. The enthusiasts of the persecuted nation, animated with resentment and warmed by the zeal for service to their faith and country, had knit themselves into a disciplined Society; they possessed public treasure; the jurisdiction of their laws was strictly exercised over the minds of their multiplying associates, followers and adherents and were connected in all its parts by the frequent assemblies of "Maulvis" to whose decrees their congregations yielded an implicit obedience. The pulpits were occupied by fiery orators; and the same coordinated sound which issued at the same time from hundreds of centres inflamed the public contempt and discontent by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance. Their inspiring works carried the flame intc every house. The transparent sincerity, sterlingconduct and, above all, the courage of conviction of the resolute Indian workers, which added dignity to their literature and message, were even esteemed by the enemy. Hunter writes :

> "Many of these works are openly sold in the towns of British India, the mcst violent and seditious finding the greatest favour with the multitudes. But inflammatory literature is only one part of a permanent four-fold organization which the Wahabi leaders use for spreading the doctrine of Rebellion. Besides it, they have, in the first place, the Central Propaganda at Patna, which for a time defied the British Authorities in that City, and which, although to a certain extent broken up by repeated State Trials, still exerts an influence throughout all Bengal. We have seen how, time after time, when the cause appeared ruined, they again and again raised the standard of Holy War from the dust. Indefatigable as missionaries, careless of themselves, blameless in the lives, supremely devoted to the overthrow of the English Infidels, admirably skilful in organizing a permanent system for supplying money and recruits, the Patna Khalifs stand forth as the types and exemplars of the Sect. Much of their teachings was faultless and it has been given to them to stir up thousands of their countrymen to a purer life, and a truer conception of the Almighty.
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> "They transferred the basis of their teaching from the noblest capabilities of the Musalman heart to the fanatical fury of the populace. As time went on, they found it necessary constantly to strengthen the seditious element in their preaching. They converted the Patna Propaganda into a Caravanserai for rebels and traitors.
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> "The Wahabi of the nobler sort knows no fear for himself. His path in life is clear, and neither warnings nor punishments can turn him to the right hand or the left. There is at

present in one of the Bengal jails a venerable white-haired Musalman, of blameless life in all respects, with the exception of his being a bitterly persistent traitor."[1]

The repeated disappointment of the British arms and failure of British diplomacy against the Mujahideen of the hills meanwhile obliged the enemy to concentrate their energies within their borders and strike at the roots of the movement. Accordingly, sterner measures of violence were designed and forces of suppression and oppression were unleashed; laws were amended and the executive was especially vested with unfettered authority to arrest. The Mujahideen in India and their adherents were declared rebels; their properties were confiscated; their congregations were prohibited; and heavy penalties were announced against all who should presume to save a proscribed person from the "just" indignation of the bigoted rulers.[2] The enemies were the accusers, the judges and the executioners. Suspicion and accusation were equivalent to proof; the power of arrest imposed the intention of mischief; such intention was no less than the act itself; and thus it was declared that a subject no longer deserved to live, if his life was inconvenient or might threaten the safety or disturb the repose of the Rulers. Such was the inflexible love of justice!

The prisons destined for the vilest criminals were packed with multitudes of the innocent people whose only crime was their love for their country and sympathy for nationalist Mujahideen. Hunter writes:[3]

"It may well be supposed that so permanent and so widely spread a disaffection has caused grave anxiety to the Indian Government. During the past, one traitor after another has been convicted and transported for life. Indeed each of the fanatic wars on our Frontier has produced its corresponding State Trial within our Territory. At this moment a large body of prisoners drawn from widely distant Districts are sufferings for their common crimes or awaiting their trial."

Amidst the storm of the persecution, however, the Indian Mujahideen or the Maulvis manly asserted their freedom of thought and action and often preferred the crown of martyrdom to surrender of their conscience. The state trials of Ambala, Delhi, Patna, Malac'ah, Ramhal and other places, which display the exalted merit of those who suffered and of those who died for the profession of their beliefs and love of liberty, shall ever rise to proclaim the oppression, intrigue and cruelty of the British Imperialism.

The trials and tribulations of Jaffer of Thaneswar, the celebrated Maulvi Ahmedullah and Maulvi Yahya of Patna the heroic Moham-

1. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 103.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
3. Ibid.

med Shafi, army contractor of Lahore, Abdul Karim of Delhi, Abdul Ghafur and Husain of Bihar, Inayatali and Maqsud, whose life and death were devoted to the cause of freedom and religion, and hundreds of hangings and transportations of their unremembered compatriots who lived and died in the service of mankind, attest the plight and difficult situation of the Indian Musalman. But all that oppression and torture, however, as yet proved insufficient to stem the strange but steady growth of "fanaticism and devotion" to the cause of liberty. On the contrary, from the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose. The persecution of so many venerable Mujahideen and Maulvis who suffered for the love of their country became a just subject to disturb the whole people. Every fresh violence rekindled a fresh faith, and the sufferings of the martyrs became the seed of a fresh revolution. The sword of oppression was blunted and the enemy was baffled by the hardihood of the people and inefficiency of their wild tyranny. Hunter relates:

> "From 1864 to 1868 the levies of money and men went on as before, and a special establishment had to be organized to deal with the conspiracy. At this moment the cost of watching the Wahabis, and keeping them within bounds, amounts in a single Province to as much as would suffice for the Administration, Judicial and Criminal, of a British District containing one-third of the whole population of Scotland. The evil had so widely diffused itself, that it was difficult to know where to begin. Each District-Centre spreads disaffection through thousands of families; but the only possible witnesses against him are his own converts, who would prefer death to the betrayal of their master."[1]

> "We have seen how, time after time, when the cause appeared ruined, they, again and again, raised the standard of Holy War from the dust. Indefatigable as missionaries, careless of themselves, blameless in their lives, supremely devoted to the overthrow of the English Infidels, admirably skilful in organizing a permanent system for supplying money and recruits, the Patna Khalifs stand forth as the types and exemplars of the Sect. Much of their teaching was faultless, and it has been given to them to stir up thousands of their countrymen to a purer life, and a truer conception of the Almighty."[2]

If we reflect on the organisation, spirit and influence of the Mujahideen, we shall be soon convinced that the English would have been driven out from India long before, if only they had challenged Islam earlier. Sir William Hunter not incorrectly writes: [3]

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1. *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 92.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

"As Indian history has hitherto been generally written by persons who have never set foot in India, it would be unfair to expect that the meaning of this strange moderation on the part of the East India Company should be understood in England. The truth is, that had we hastened by a single decade our formal assumption of the sovereignty, we should have been landed in a Muhammadan rising infinitely more serious than the mutinies of 1857. The whole status of the Musalmans would have been suddenly changed. We should have been in the position of an Infidel Power who had seized and occupied a Country of Islam. The great majority of the Indian Musalmans would have deemed it their absolute duty to rebel; for, as I have already shown, the first obligation 'of every man, woman, and child,' in such a case, 'is to hurt and drive away the Infidel Ruler.'

"The admirable moderation of the East India Company's servants, and their determination to let the Muhammadan Power expire by slow natural decay, without hastening its death a single moment, averted this danger. India passed from a Country of Islam into a Country of the Enemy by absolutely imperceptible gradations. After many years' study of the Imperial and District Archives, I find myself unable to place my finger on any given year or decade of years as that in which the change was effected. We got rid of the subordinate Muhammadan Governors long before we touched the nominal supremacy of the Muhammadan Emperor. Long after that nominal supremacy had become a farce, and indeed up to 1835, our coinage still issued in his name. Even after we thus ventured to impress the British Sovereign's effigy on our coin, we maintained much of the Muhammadan Procedure along with the Muhammadan Court language. These in their turn slowly disappeared. But it was not till 1864 that we took the bold step, with the Muhammadan Law Officers by an Act of the Legislature. This Law put the last touch to the edifice of the new Empire of India as a country of the Enemy, the rebuilding of which had been wisely spread over exactly one hundred years (1765 to 1864). While the Muhammadan Rule thus imperceptibly disappeared, a new set of obligations on the part of our Musalman subjects was springing up. Before India had passed into a Country of the Enemy, the duties incumbent upon the Muhammadans in a Country of Islam had faded away. One of the first of these duties, as I have already said, is rebellion against an Infidel Conqueror."

Theological Controversies Caused

The usurpers now supplemented their oppression, with an insidious attack on the springs of the new revolution. Centres similar

to those of the Mujahideen were set up; and the mosque, the pulpit, the congregations, and the avenues, both social and religious, were assaulted with gold, gifts and honours. Under the decent name of donations, men were bribed according to their power and rapaciousness; and the consience of many a sacred orator was tempered with and engaged to sound the trumpet of discord. Mujahideen were branded with the odious name of "Wahabis" and the word "Wahabi" was put in use as an opprobrious epithet. Every calumny that could wound the reputation of those sincere devotees of freedom was lavished on their conduct and every act of theirs was denounced as an act against Islam. The people were preached and urged to view the Mujahids as apostates. The hirelings who declared themselves to be the true champions of the faith hurled their spiritual thunders against the Mujahideen and condemned them as enemies of the true God. Spiritual invectives pursued those defenders of liberty in cities, in towns, in villages and all over the country with a furious rage. The understanding of the congregations was perplexed by theological claims and factions; and their feelings were inflamed by the "pious oratory against the religious beliefs and tenets of the Mujahideen. A reformer should be exempt from the suspicion of selfish interest, and he must possess the confidence and esteem of those whom he proposes to reclaim. The torrents of the incessant and artful propaganda, under the cover of religious preaching, designed to alarm the timorous, and to mislead the simple, shook the prestige and hold of the Mujahideen, and a large section of people genuinely and seriously began to consider "whether or not the Mujahideen were true Muslims." This was the first effective blow inflicted on the revolution.

The main stock of the Mujahideen's preaching was that Islam offered no reconciliation with slavery. This view was assailed by various "Fatwas" (religious opinions of the learned Muslims) acquired or purchased from all and sundry and widely distributed at the government cost. Even the Holy City of Mecca was not spared in pursuit of "Fatwas."[1] The "Muhammadan Society of Calcutta," an organisation reared up by British hands, vigorously challenged and denounced the efforts of the zealous advocates of independence. Shaikh Ahmed Effendi Ansari, who claimed his descent from Abu Ayub Ansari, a celebrated companion of the Prophet, came to India on an honourable and pressing invitation; and steps, titles, salutations, banquets, and presents were exquisitely adjusted to gratify the whims and vanity of the guest. He was conducted with an impressive ceremony through the provinces of India where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which the Muslims of India had derived from the British slavery and advised the people for an unconditional surrender to the Imperial yoke. The British gold and diplomacy produced and poured fourth clouds of critics and commentators who darkened the face of learning. Armed with the text of Qur'an, Maulvi Abdul Haq of

1. See the Schedule.

Calcutta and Maulvi Fazl Rasul of Badayun, among others, acquired the fame of invincible disputants whom it was impossible to silence or convince; and they declared the Mujahideen as "infidels" (*Kafir*). The slaves of private interests and beggars of court decorations lauded and cherished the "toleration" of the English masters who allowed them to profane the religion and to anathematise the Mujahideen and each other. The weight which they cast and the part they played in the extirpation of the Mujahideen movement forms undoubtedly a memorable achievement of the British administration.

Every wind scattered the leaves of controversy, and the diffusive mischief of religious disputation and discord penetrated into every part of the Muslim India. There sprang up, nourished by the British diplomacy, as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations and as many sources of blasphemy as there were faults among the people. The desperate enthusiasts admired their own party and their own preachers as the true Muslims and denounced the others as the victims of the devil; and when their lungs were exhausted in condemnation of each other, the rival groups often had recourse to the arguments of stones and sticks. In the fever of the times, the sound of a syllable was sufficient to disturb the public peace. The cities and the provinces were alike distracted with ugly factions of the religious heads. Hali, the poet of the day, laments that the Muslim people who had the same one God, the same one Prophet, the same one religion and the same worship, should be divided by such innumerable distinctions and creeds.

Setback to Mujahideen

Amidst the clamorous contests, pernicious to the religion and scandalous to the society, the "Wahabi" centres disappeared, their literature was burnt and their spirit and enthusiasm vanished into oblivion. The flame of controversy consumed the vitals of the nation. "Patience is virtue, so long as the Heaven has condemned us to suffer" and "resignation to fate" were preached as the best virtues of life; and "indignation of God" was introduced to be the cause of the success of the enemy. Saint-worship advanced with progress; singing assumed the importance of prayer; and the alms and the public charities were wasted on female dancers and singers as pious acts. Islam was thus corrupted by institutions so foreign to its genius and the remains of the military life were sought to be buried in a cloister. The long memory of independence is the firmest pledge of the perpetuity of a people; the succeeding generations are animated to prove their inheritance and maintain their traditions. This treasure of Muslim history and culture and the invaluable sources of inspiration were deposited in the Persian and Arabic languages. These languages also afforded a direct contact with the neighbouring Muslim countries. The importance of these languages was obvious. The policy of the British Government gradually nourished up and gave Muslims "Urdu" as their national language and drove away

from India those rich and centuries-old repositaries of the Muslim culture, history and traditions. The rebels of the religion and beggars of the court favour, friends of vices and haters of virtues, seekers of private interests and enemies of the nation were embraced as the true representatives of Islam. Those who preferred the favour of Her Britannic Majesty to that of their God were promoted; those who denounced the religion of Islam were rewarded with elevation and decorated with trophies and titles of honour. Among the literature writers of the age, the poet Mirza Ghalib distinguished himself among his countrymen by writing his book "Dastambu," an attempt at servile and fervent flattery to the foreigners, wherein he justified the massacres of 1857 and glorified the fetters of and obedience to the Imperial yoke. His prose and poetry stand for utter frustration and abject resignation; but as the fate would have it, by the choice of the masters, he was put up as the national poet of Islam.

The Great Sir Sayyid Ahmed

Unity of thought, assailed by the serious religious conflicts and dissensions, could not have endured the storm. But the fatal blow was delivered by the progress of Sir Sayyid's movement. The calculations of the enthusiastic Maulvis or Mujahideen had so far failed; neither the marvellous sacrifices they made bore any fruit nor the measures they adopted could resist the steady destructive forces unleashed by the foreign masters. They could not realise that the miserable age had no scope for their heroism or personal courage. Their daring spirit might have suited the happier times of their ancestors, but the present state required not merely warriors but cautious stewards who could understand the magnitude of the danger and misfortunes and guide the nation to the haven of security. The "pious warriors" were unable to apprehend the hidden powers of the British diplomacy, the strings of the confederacy of the enemy and the Brahman's role, who had by now developed to maturity, and the dangers underlying the future constitutional structure that was being designed. By their own efforts alone they expected to rid India from the grasp of the usurpers—a thing no less than a miracle. The caravan moved on and on but with no achievement. Ruin and destruction behind and ruin and destruction ahead; no way out of the fix! Amidst the cries of "Jihad," Sir Sayyid—who had personally witnessed the scene of the slaughter and ruin of Delhi, read the temper of the "master," felt the dangers hidden in the constitutional future of "India," and was alarmed by the dangerous union of the British and the Brahman, whether swayed by fear or by sense of duty—rose, challenged the propriety and effectiveness of approach of the Mujahideen and cried for a halt. The great Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan pleaded for an honourable servitude against the impending perils and futility of the means that were available to meet the situation. The impotence of the wildest outburst against the methodical might of the British convinced Sayyid Ahmed Khan and has colleagues that things

had worsened past recovery. They were aware and afraid of the malice of the mean enemy and had been firmly persuaded to believe that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Muslim society. They felt and advocated that the need of the time was to renounce the claim to liberty, to hug the chains of slavery, to mingle with the ruling nation, and thereby seek suspension of and, if possible, escape from the terrible fury of vengeance of the powerful enemy and thus save the nation from the flames of continued persecution. Above all, Sir Sayyid thought that "the political liberation of Islam from English domination must be preceded by profound regeneration of mind and thought in the light of new changes" both for "liberation" and for "fruitful reconstruction of thought." On this point, i.e. the liberation of Islam, the ideals of the "Mujahideen" and the new "Reformers" were the same. Both recognised Islam's decadence; both desired its regeneration. It was on the nature of the means to be adopted for that regeneration that the two groups were opposed to each other. The "Reformers" believed that Islam should grow through servitude and gain strength through the British "generosity." The Mujahideen, on the other hand, thought that "boycott and overthrow of the yoke of British Imperialism was but necessary for such a regeneration." The reformers believed that under the painful circumstances of the day no successful war could be waged against the English and therefore submission to and reconciliation with the British slavery was the only course left; while the Mujahideen thought that a successful revolution for throwing off the foreign domination, the one that liberated U.S.A., was yet possible and non-cooperation with the British Government was fundamentally essential for such a step.

How to escape the terrible ruin and destruction was the vexed question that faced the Muslim India.

In such a distress and darkness, Sir Sayyid Ahmed courageously denounced the impotence of the old methods, the futility of sporadic outbursts and the advisibility of the boycott of the Britishers and summoned the nation to new life and new methods. He boldly pleaded for acceptance of the servitude, advised the nation to offer voluntary surrender to the British yoke and set upon himself the task of bringing about "reconciliation." The English exploiters who were sitting on a volcano, and had realised that neither steel nor fire could eradicate even the erroneous opinions of the mind, welcomed the Sayyid's move with active encouragement. Every cause was prepared and every circumstance was hastened to serve him. Adversity and prudence also suggested the counsel of moderation and peace to the suffering people. The boldest citizen had been taught by experience that he might suffer more injuries than he could inflict. The daring patriots were convinced that their opposition, without being serviceable to the country, would be fatal to themselves. The

piercing eye of ambition and avarice had long before discovered that "surrender," though advantageous to the enemy, was salutary to its private interests. The selfish "Nobles," who reflected disgrace upon their rank, race and religion, had already implored the protection of the enemy. But the absence of a powerful leader in the opponent camp was perhaps the most effective help that the circumstances afforded to Sir Sayyid. How long could a leaderless opposition, beset with dangers, risks and adversity, stand? Yet, Sir Sayyid had to face a violent opposition. He had to make Herculean efforts to make the people believe in the insufficiency of the means at their disposal, and to prepare the mind of the nation to submit to the naked servitude. Obstinacy of the nation at last yielded to reason and necessity. The unfortunate people were compelled to embrace the humiliating maxim that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition than to miserably perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The tumult of "virtue and freedom" gave way to zeal for new life; vigour of mind abated, and the attention of the people was directed from the "public service and jihad" to government service and selfish interests. The progress of the domestic factions overshadowed the national sentiments. The spirit of the nation was broken though Sir Sayyid "achieved a grand success." He cut his people away from politics and set them exclusively on the road to "cooperation" with the changed world. The warlike "Maulvis" or "Mujahideen," who could not discard the old pride and were unwilling to accept defeat, instead of suffering the humiliation of reconciling with the badge of slavery, maintained in their adverse fortune the undaunted spirit of their ancestors, preferred exile to servitude and followed the road to the mountainous regions of West Punjab.

Spirit of the Nation Dies

The enthusiasm of the revolution in India cooled down and the streams of men and money flowing into the hills dried up. The army of the Mujahideen was consumed by frequent and bloody engagements with the powerful enemy; they maintained the unequal contests up to 1873, whereafter they (the Mujahideen) ceased to hold out any menace and disappeared for ever from the scene. The political objective was lost, national aspirations disappeared and no goal was left to guide the footsteps and warm the hearts.

Sir Sayyid Ahmed believed in what he called "intellectual regeneration" as the first essential to any activity and progress of the Muslims. He condemned politics as undesirable for his nation as, he thought, it was likely to deflect them from the "Test" he had set to himself. The demand, however, of the Indian National Congress for the establishment of representative institutions in India upon the pattern of western democracy appears to have given him a shock. At Lucknow on December 28, 1887, when the National Congress was holding its third session in Madras, he for the first time opened his

lips on politics and spoke about the evils which would flow from majority rule and the dreadful consequences thereof for his people. He said that in the existing state of communal temper, Muslims would always vote for a Muslim candidate at the polls and "Hindus" for a Brahman candidate; and as the "Hindus" formed the majority of the population taking India as a whole, the Muslims would be condemned to the crushing misery of a "permanent minority." It appears that Sir Sayyid did recognise the unhappy situation which was to degrade the Muslims to a "permanent minority"; but we find with regret that he paid no attention to nor put in any effort to safeguard or perhaps could not conceive any safeguard for the future of his nation. Or perhaps as yet he was not convinced of the futility of the self-imposed indifference towards the political shakings or perhaps as yet he was not awakened to the national risks involved in his policy of moving adrift at the mercy of the waves and winds.

Self-Imposed Ignorance

Yet Sir Sayyid was no doubt a great man; his courage stemmed the current and his determination changed the course of events. But a dispassionate observer should not fail to notice that he was not endowed with that genius which could foresee the approaching dangers and devise ways and means to escape the same. He attempted to suspend or soothe the hostility of the British, but, with all his ability, he could neither save his people from the sword that had been raised to crush them nor avert the sentence of destruction that had been passed to wreck their existence. His advocacy of politics as "the forbidden tree" and his advice of complete severance therefrom (politics), inflicted an irreparable injury, closed the Muslim mind to the most important and unignorable events that were being shaped and so lulled them to a sleep as not to rise till it had become almost too late. He could not grasp the extent of the national decay that follows submission after resistance nor could conceive an adequate remedy for the evils that had set in, nor could he visualise the vast bearing of the distressful situation.

Creation of "Hindu"

The myth of "the Hindu" or "the Hindu nation" is, like the "Indian nation," a crowning wonder of the recent history of India. Its conception, birth, growth and then the role it was made to play, excite the most lively curiosity as it has drastically changed the course of events and is likely to gravely influence the shape of the future happenings in this sub-continent for a long time to come.

"Hinduism" neither was and nor is a religion; nor is it an institution, a creed or a doctrine. "Hindu" is a word of Persian language (not Sanskrit), meaning an inhabitant of Hind (India); black; thief. The various tribes living on the borders of the Indus Valley were addicted to theft and often pillaged the caravans that used to traverse on the trade-routes between India and Persia. Those thiefs and

robbers, residing as they were within the borders of "Hind,"[1] were in slow process of time called by the contemptible name of "Hindu." The name or the epithet of "Hindu" signified thiefish character. The Persians and Rajputs employed the appellation of "Hindu" as an abuse. As often as they expressed their most bitter contempt of a mean person they called him a "Hindu" and in this name was included "whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious; the extremes of meanness and avarice, and every vice that could prostitute the dignity of human nature." "Hindu" never stood for or denoted any particular race, tribe, or nation.

At the time of growth of the British power in India, besides the Musalmans, there lived in India several nations divided from one another in religion, origin, language and characteristics more numerously than the varied nations of the West. There were Dravidians in the south, the gentle Oriyas in Orissa, Assamese in Assam, "Banias and Buddhists," Rajputs and Brahmans and the simple aborigines in the mountain ranges—but no "Hindus." Likewise several religions such as Islam, Brahmanism, Poly-daemonism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Christianity fed the spiritual needs of the different peoples. But there was no "Hinduism." The word "Hinduism," whatever its import, did not exist nor had been conceived nor coined in any shape before 1857 (the war of liberation). The census reports of the nineteenth century specifically mention "Brahmanic" religion and deal with its followers, but nowhere they refer to or include "Hinduism" as a religion in India, nor do they mention "Hindu" as a nomenclature to express a people, a race or a nation.

The Chosen Slave

Among these peoples and races, the English found the Musalman alone alive and capable, animated with initiative and drive, and tormented with aspirations and ambitions; while the rest of the population consisted of "lifeless multitudes sunk deep in superstition and ignorance." The British policy and prejudices, which deprived the Musalman of the advantages of prosperity, of knowledge and of power and excluded him from all offices of trust and profit, at the same time required some section of Indians to support the British yoke, and help their exploitation. Accordingly, "an attention" of "Imperialism" was directed to breathe a "spirit in the dead heaps" and in particular the Brahman, and enliven them with "desires and aspirations." English schools were opened under the management of specially trained non-Muslim teachers. Special scholarships were provided for the study of "Sanskrit." The Government of the East India Company sanctioned a sum of Rs. 100,000 to be spent annually for a period of twenty years for the uplift and

1. The Brahmanic or Sanskrit had no name for India; but the regions where the Brahmans or Aryans dominated were called "Aryavarta" or "Bharat-Bhumi."

"encouragement" of the "non-Muslims." In 1792 "the Sanskrit College" at Benares was established by Duncan David; and his companions in about the same year started the "Hindu College" of Calcutta. Dr. H. H. Wilson built the basement of modern Sanskrit learning. Various societies such as "Academic Association" and "College Association" at Calcutta were set up to awaken, train and poison the Brahman against the Musalman. The political missionaries such as Jonathan, Willain Carye, Hare, Charles Grant, Sir Hyde East, celebrated for their anti-Muslim hatred and prejudices, were charged with the noble mission of "framing the Brahman's mind." The Brahman, Ram Mohan, with his unshakable fidelity to the "British Blessings" was picked up to lend his hand for the noble cause. He was propped up, guided and financed to found "Brahmo Samaj" and to start the first Bengali journal *Sambad Kaumudi*.

Persian (the language of the Musalman) was replaced by Bengali (language of the Brahman) in schools and the system of education was changed to suit the prejudices of British Imperialism. Sir Hunter writes in his book, *The Indian Musalmans* :

> "The truth is, that our system of public instruction which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion, of the Musalmans.
>
> "The language of our Government Schools in Lower Bengal is Hindi, and the masters are Hindus. The Musalmans with one consent spurned the instruction of idolaters through the medium of the language of idolatry."

Muslim estates and zamindaris, snatched from their Muslim owners, were granted to the Brahman.[1] Trade and commerce was thrust upon him; the government services were entrusted to those who professed an ardent hatred against the Musalman; and the future of his posterity was brightened by the declared partiality of the rulers. The Brahman began to sing the countless blessings of the "British Raj" and the service under the British became the object of his fondest devotion. He solicited it with more ardour and obtained with more facility. The country was littered with hordes of "Brahmanic" delators, detectives, informers, reporters, eavesdroppers and philosophers of falsehood who exploited the distress of the Musalman and chased him like the troops of ghosts. "Intrigue

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1. "A main element in Clive's after Plassey was the maintenance in power of the Nawab's Hindu officials very much against the wishes of the Nawab himself. This considerably strengthened the influence of the Company and was unjustified by the loyalty and ability, with which Ram Narayan, the Hindu Deputy Nawab of Bihar, resisted the attacks of the emperor's eldest son until the English came to the rescue. By this policy—which perhaps provides part of the foundation for the modern India political belief that the general policy of the English in India was to divide and rule—Clive succeeded in keeping himself strong and the Nawab weak." (Sir Percival Griffoth, *British Impact on India.*)

and treacherous conspiracies were the breath of those people" and violation of plighted words and perfidy to involve the Musalman in trouble were the characteristic features of their life. The usurpers indeed thanked their gods who had provided them with such subject peoples, as the "Brahman"—so serviceable and so pliant and servile. The Englishmen's claim to glory exclusively unto them of founding the British Empire in India is meanly selfish. A lion's share belonged to the "Brahman."[1]

"Irresistible arms," as it was said, "defended" the frontiers of the Empire, while black laws, administered by a stern temper and supported by the active fidelity of the Brahman, secured the internal peace. The wreck and ruin of the Musalman seemingly left in him no life or urge to break and revenge their fetters and the prospect and example of freedom having been far removed from his eyes, it appeared to the British rulers that he would wear and bear the chains with less resistance. None remained, they thought, who could vindicate by arms the cause of freedom and indulged themselves in the wishful thinking that the edifice of British Imperialism raised on a rock-foundation was unassailable and unshakable. Their calculations, however, were altogether misleading. Neither the loyalty of the faithful "Brahman" could render them immune against the dangerous consequences of their oppression and the desperate disaffection of a victimised people, nor could their strength of arms eliminate the chance of an open rebellion. Whilst the usurpers enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of their wicked intrigues, contemplated with pleasure upon the wonders of their versatile cunning; whilst they claimed mastery over the fairest part of the world and the most civilised portion of mankind; and claimed with loud affection that "The sun never sets upon the British Empire"; and whilst they governed India with iron sceptre, the Indian war of independence (1857) tore up the fabric of the British rule in India and flung the exploiters to the verge of extinction. The great happening

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1. (*a*) "The staff of clerks attached to the various offices, the responsible posts in the Courts, and even the higher offices in the Police are recruited from the pushing Hindu youth of the Government School." (*The Indian Musalmans*, p. 159.)

(*b*) "A hundred years ago, the Musalmans monopolized all the important offices of State. The Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs as their former conquerors dropped from their table." (*The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 161-62.)

(*c*) "The truth is, that when the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organization, and in the science of practical government. Yet the Muhammadans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupations of non-official life." (*The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 162-63.)

(*d*) "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich." (*The Indian Musalmans*, p. 150.)

(*e*) "In Bengal, for example, in 1871 of the 773 Indians occupying responsible government posts, the Muslims, despite their total numerical equality in the pro-province with Hindus, held only 92 as compared with the Hindus' 681. Yet little more than a century before the Muslims, as the intellectual and political power in India, had held the monopoly of such appointments." (*India*, p. 91.)

which has left to the history an instructive lesson that intrigue, oppression, and the fluctuating attachment of mercenary troops are intrinsically too weak to support for ever a foreign yoke, shocked and disillusioned the British rulers to the naked reality that they remained "without roots"; that "their edifice was raised" but on sands and that, in spite of their "might," they were fully exposed to the vagary of fortune. Their wickedness and tyranny was bound to produce hatred and that hatred, they could see, would seldom fail to find an opportunity of revenge; the British rule, they realised, thus could last only till some leaders, bold and eloquent, should arise to persuade their countrymen that the same arms which they exercised for the contemptuous masters could accomplish a great revolution and become the instruments of freedom and victory of the slaves as well. Imperialism was convinced that another rising would call back the "tales of Jalalabad" and that under the despotic system of government it had, it could not avoid the occurrence of another "war of liberation." The convulsions of the "Mutiny" and "the life-and-death struggle" that ensued sunk deep into the minds of the usurpers. They dreaded in the calmer moments of reflection the vicissitudes of fortune. Even in their exalted situation, they discovered to their great discomfiture that they had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of another "war of independence." The memory of America became alive and the possession of India appeared too difficult and precarious to be retained. The usurpers were easily convinced that one day or the other, they were to leave India. Their serious attention therefore was engaged and centred on the vexed problem as to how to put off that fateful day, avert repetition of war of independence, and prolong their stay and exploitation. But the frightful chance of an armed conflict with the Indians looked too risky and uncommendable. The embarrassing but unavoidable situation obliged the foreigners to the decision to adopt some section of the Indians as their underling, to associate them in the government of the Company and mould them into a worthy instrument of exploitation. The private and public interest of the "underling," it was considered, and not unjustly, would inflict incurable wounds of civil discord among the inhabitants of India, destroy all sentiments of patriotism and liberty and thus secure them against the apprehensions of another "uprising." And, in order to cripple and render the Musalman helpless, measures were conceived which would gradually but surely shift the incidence of power from valour, martial traditions and verdict of sword to the counting of heads. Lord Canning began to preach: "Unless you have some barometer or safety valve in the shape of a deliberative council, I believe you will always be liable to very unlooked-for and dangerous explosions."

"During and after the Mutiny they (the Muslims) naturally fell under suspicion....Muslim aristocracy in northern India was regarded with the gravest suspicion for the part, real or fancied, which they

played in the Mutiny and for their reluctance to be 'improved'—a clear demonstration in British eyes of their irresponsibility." Educated in the school of crusades and crusaders' bigotry, their prejudices, as in the past, advised extirpation of the injured but potent Musalman whom they were not prepared under any circumstances to treat otherwise than an enemy.

The sins of the Brahman were forgiven. He was considered to have been deceived into the rebellion by the "clever and shrewd" Musalman. By the strange connections of human events, the choice of Imperialism for picking up an "underling" was fixed on the Brahman and the selection, be it said to the credit of the masters, was not without justification. The Brahman had entered upon the soil of India as the "Aryan invader," whose discovery and use of iron rather than courage had inflicted a calamitous defeat upon the unfortunate Dravidians, the then inhabitants of India. By resisting the invader, the vanquished Dravidians had incurred the guilt of a most heinous and an unpardonable offence. They were slaughtered on the field, in their towns, in their villages and in their houses; and their farms, habitations and houses were reduced to ashes. But the brutal hatred of the conqueror was not satisfied. He deemed his conquest incomplete if the religion, relics and civilisation of the old race survived. In the shape of "Caste System," the Brahman imposed upon the prostrate nation a system of slavery, most horrible that human imagination could conceive or devise. And, in order to reconcile the human mind to this dreadful institution and to perpetuate it for the reasons of exploitation, the shrewd tyrant spun up round "the Caste System" the whole fabric of his social order and the entire conception of his religion known as the Aryan or Brahmanic or the Vedic religion. The new religion (Brahmanism) and the new social order renamed the Dravidian as "Shudra" (meaning outcaste, unclean, untouchable), segregated them from the Aryan society, assigned to them marshy and uninhabitable spots for residence and charged them with the contemptible functions of scavenging the Aryan village and removing the filth and refuse of the Aryan master and the dung of his animals. The "Shudra" could own no wealth, wear no gold or silver, nor could demand any wages. He could live on the corpses of wild animals or crumbs thrown out to him by the generosity of the Aryan. He was untouchable and unclean from his very birth; his touch defiled the Aryan and deserved him the punishment of "flogging to death." No exertions could change his mean status or vocation nor any virtue could raise him to respectability. His dress and manners were rigidly prescribed to discriminate him and to announce his identification. Some danger in acquainting the "Shudra" with his own plight and distress was apprehended,

His Exploits

Caste System

The Wretched Dravidians

as it was considered that such knowledge might some time exasperate him to despair and excite him to revenge his fetters. He was, therefore, sternly prohibited from acquiring any learning or knowledge and from receiving or hearing any instructions in any art or science. It would be unfair to judge or estimate the sufferings of the "Shudra" if we compare the institution of "Caste System" with the institution of slavery under the Greeks, the Romans or the Persians. A slave under the Romans or the Persians was a domestic slave; he could reasonably expect that his diligence and fidelity of a few years might be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom. But even such a hope, perhaps the best comfort of our imperfect conditions, was altogether denied to the hard-hit Dravidians. A "Shudra" was a slave of the whole Aryan nation and not of an individual, a creation of the national hatred and national revenge sanctified by "Gods," which allowed to the calamity-stricken man no hope of any relief during his life on this earth. His miserable lot, hardships and sufferings were sanctioned by the rule of the faith and justified by the social and state laws. Yet another ghastly feature of this oppressive system (Caste System) that strikes our imagination is that the benefits of the inhuman fetters of Brahmanism were not merely restricted to those who were taken captive or who surrendered; by the laws of the religion chains of the Aryan yoke were extended to the future generations of the Dravidians as well till eternity. Birth fixed the status and vocation of a person and the Shudra mothers could propagate "Shudras" only. Could a more inhuman and tyrannical institution condemning the natives of a country and their posterity to a perpetual slavery be devised by an aggressive invader! Brahmanism denounced pity to the "Shudra" as a flagitious act and an irredeemable sin deserving severe punishment, in the present as well as in the future life. The inhuman ravages of the tyrant or miseries of the Dravidian, therefore, could excite no reactions or emotions of sympathy or mercy; nor could humanitarian sentiments, if any, contribute in any manner to alleviate the hardships of his servitude. The horrible institution, unparalleled in the annals of mankind, accepted as the main plank of Brahmanism, enforced by the sword and the blind zeal of persecution of the Aryan conqueror, maintained by inexorable laws of the state and supported by the arts of the Brahman clergy, extirpated the national existence of the Dravidian, obliterated his religion and wiped out the great Dravidian civilisation. The effects of this crushing slavery during the course of centuries worked its way on and on and shackled not only the action but also thoughts of the prostrate people. The slaves of the Greeks, Romans and the Persians have disappeared from the world; but the ghastliest of all the slaveries, the Caste System, shaped and introduced by the Brahman three-four thousand years ago, stands as firm and rigid as the sacred Himalayas. Nearly one-fourth of the population of Bharat today constitutes these down-trodden victims of Brahmanism, yet ignorant of the tyranny and oppression exercised

upon them through ages by the Brahman in the name of religion.

Extirpation of Buddhists

Buddhism came with a message of hope and sympathy and endeavoured to relieve the suffering masses from the galling and inhuman chains of Brahmanism. Great kings like Ashoka and Harsha embraced its great cause. Brahmanism enjoyed complete toleration and freedom under the shade of the new religion, but suffered a great setback; it endured the eclipse with patience and as soon the tempest of the new zeal and order was over and it recovered its ground, Brahmanism, with ungoverning fury, slaughtered the Buddhists, banished the religion of Buddha from its homeland and extirpated, without a scruple of gratefulness, the culture, language and civilisation of Buddhism. The Huns and various other tribes of the Scythians, who later on invaded India and who possessed no philosophy of their own, were in course of time subdued by the arts of the astute Brahman and driven into oblivion.

The historical "exploits" and the "latent potentialities" of the Brahman were thus too notorious to escape notice.

Creation of the Hindu

The policy of the British Imperialism was reshaped to accommodate "the association" with the Brahman and India was launched on what was called the "road to constitutionalism."[1] This step, productive as it was of a mighty revolution, gave a new turn to the course of Indian history. The fate of India perhaps would have been different if the inhabitants of India had been allowed the freedom to think and act freely. But the enemy presented and introduced, with consummate skill, "Brahmanism" in a new form and as a new institution under the name "Hinduism," the baleful fountain from which flowed all the later calamities. In this new shape of Brahmanism, the Western "Mannu" denied the right of coexistence to the old peoples, Dravidians, Rajputs, Marathas, Nagas, Santals, Gosains, Bhils, and the akin people numbering nearly one hundred and fifty millions. The faiths of these old races of India, their civilisations, their traditions and their histories were hostile to those of the Brahman; the energies of the Brahman, ever since his invasion of India, had been employed in destruction of those nations, and their civilisations, but the "Ne Mannu" refused to recognise their centuries-old professions, religious practices, their national aspirations, and their separate existence; he submerged their identity in "Hinduism"[2] and bestowed upon the flocks of those

Extermination of Non-Aryans

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1. "The shock of the Mutiny drove both the London and the Calcutta Governments to consider how to achieve a closer contact with Indian opinion in order to avoid a similar tragedy in future." [C.H. Philips, *India*, Hutchinson's University Library, London (Ed. 1948).]

2. "Hinduism" in English has been coined from the word "Hindu" and no equivalent in "Sanskrit" or "Vedas."

prostrate peoples the blessings of a faithful shepherd, the Brahman. The merger of those unfortunate nations in "Hinduism" and the imposition of the new yoke of Hinduism on them, historically, ethically and socially was incomprehensible, constitutionally repugnant to mental faculties and morally inhuman and tyrannical; but the victims were too simple and too helpless to foresee or see and prevent the latent chains; and the rod of the British Imperialism, which always measures the welfare of a people by the interests of the British Imperialism, was as ever dumb to the cries of justice and insensible to the voice of fairness. After half a century's unconscious submission to the new bondage, under the benign patronage of the British rulers and their laws, the oppressed peoples were regarded and taken for granted as a part of Brahmanism. The word "Hindu" was put into currency as a general appellation to include all the inhabitants of India excepting the Musalman. The solid gains envisaged for the Brahman in this stratagem which provided him with a solid strength of one hundred and fifty million voters, in a constitutional government, and assured him an absolute domination and brute control of the country, are too obvious today. Then was propounded by the arts of cunning and deceit, the theory of "Indian nation"[1] which ordained that all the inhabitants of India were one nation. The artful device meant to raise the Brahman with the strength of one hundred and fifty million peoples of the old races under the name "Hindu" on the pedestal of a permanent majority and degrade the Musalman from a nation into a perpetual and unchangeable minority. Obviously, this was an insidious attempt under the pretence of constitutional advancement to drag the Musalman to the chains of a servitude worse than that of the British. At the same moment the dazzling prospect of a "self-government" which surprised public eyes and ears was put up to mark a change in the policy of the rulers and as an approach of a new era.

The Sordid Motive

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1. (*a*) "It appears, then, that none of the normal elements of nationality was present before the nineteenth century. The final test, however, is not the presence or absence of these elements, but the existence or non-existence of a sense of unity. Is there any evidence that at any stage the people of India thought of themselves as one, or, to put it in more concrete form, that individuals throughout India thought of themselves as Indians? No such evidence is forthcoming, and the only possible conclusion is that the concept of Indian nationality did not exist. . . .

"Under British rule the people of India began to be subjected to the influence of an efficient and powerful government, bent on introducing uniformity in many spheres. Race, language, religion, and social condition under one rule began to weld the people of India together. The process was necessarily slow and had not got very far by the time of the Mutiny. After the Mutiny, however, new factors began to strengthen the influence of political association under a common rule, and to quicken the simultaneous growth of nationality and nationalism." [Sir Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India* (1952 Ed).]

(*b*) "India as a nation of the modern world is still in the making. For all that is modern in India—to the very name "India" is of foreign and relatively recent importation." [Sir Valentine Chirol, *India,* (1926 Ed.) Earnest Benn Ltd., London.]

Under the pretence of "self-government," the enemy no doubt disguised his fears and designs; but by this display of generosity, he could easily deceive the people by a mirage of civil liberty and the armies by a mirage of self-government, and sow the seeds of a perpetual civil discord. The Brahman, the chosen and faithful slave who owed his newly acquired riches and influence to the foreign yoke and who was now committed to the interests of the new allies, fearlessly supported their chains and conspired against and repelled the chances of repetition of a "war of independence." The energy of the sword was communicated to the pen and power politics was transferred from personal courage and the battlefield to the ballot-boxes and the electoral colleges. The attention of the inhabitants of India was thus diverted from the dangerous seditions and risings to the heat of elections. A tide of new idiology and of new civilisation, in which a fairest prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the future generations of the Brahman, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course. By the close of the nineteenth century, silent labours of Imperialism had accomplished the task; Hinduism was fully matured up; old races were sunk in the framework of "Hinduism"; and the relics of their existence, religions and civilisations were obliterated. The victims were then unable to understand the destructive operations of the strange but mighty revolution; they are now (after 1947) awakened to their new misfortunes by rude temper and insolent power of the Brahman. But injury almost beyond recovery has already been done, and it is not so easy to disclaim this badge of servitude not less injurious to their conscience than to their existence.

Nothing would be more far from truth than to regard "Hinduism" as a religion. The religion of the Aryans or Brahmanic structure was "Vedanta—Vedic religion," "Arya Dharma" or "Brahmanism." The epithets of "Hindu" and "Hinduism" were but figments of the "British brains"; all was politics and the sinister object was to hit the Musalman and sink his existence and identity beneath the multitudes, granted the name "Hindus." It is fully borne out by the efforts which, later on, the modern Brahmans made to define "Hindu." According to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, president of "The Hindu Mahsabha," a "Hindu" is a person:

> "who regards and owns this Bharat Bhumi, this land from the Indus to the Seas, as his Father Land as well as his Holy Land; i.e. the land of the origin of his religion, the cradle of his faith.
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> "The followers therefore of Vaidicism, Sanatanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Lingaitism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmosamaj, the Devasamaj, the Prarthana Samaj and such other religions of Indian origin are Hindus and constitute Hindudom, i.e. Hindu people as a whole.
>
> "Consequently the so-called aboriginal or hill-tribes also are Hindus; because India is their Father Land as well as their

Holy Land, whatever form of religion or worship they follow.

"This definition, therefore, should be recognized by the Government and made the test of 'Hindutva' in enumerating the population of Hindus in the Government census to come."[1]

So far the Musalmans had been a separate nation; but now the identity and existence of the Musalmans was sought to be merged in the "glittering" word of "Indian Nation" wherein the "Hindus" outnumbered them by three to one. The usurpers wished to deceive the world by an image of a "constitutional government"; under the cloak of hypocrisy their "pious" object was to drown the Muslims. A series of steps were envisaged, whereby responsibility was sought to be transferred to the Brahman at the cost of all other peoples of India. In 1861 was enacted the "Indian Councils Act of 1861" which provided for nomination of "Indian non-official representatives on the Council, of the Governor-General. India was launched into the channel of the "constitutional development"; new era ushered in and one of the most memorable revolutions which have changed the history of nations set in motion.

Spoon-feeding of the Chosen Slave

Awakening of the "Hindu" masses was taken up and political preaching started. The sky was rent with the cries of "Indian Nationality" and "Indian aspirations." "We are," wrote Sir Edwin Arnold in his Study of Lord Dalhousie's administration in 1865, "making a people in India where hitherto there have been a hundred tribes but no people." Thrilling slogans of "Indian Nationalism" and "Indian Government" were invented. Various associations such as "The Bengali Indian Association," "Bombay Association," "Madras Native Association" and "Upper-Class Hindus Association" were formed by the English officials to infuse political consciousness. Movements such as the "Brahmo Samaj," "Arya Samaj," "Pararthana Samaj," "Rama Krishna Mission" were founded to mobilise "Hindus" and to spread poison against the Muslims. The English were also aware of the importance of the Press. Side by side with other activities, the "Brahman" Press was also organised to push the "sacred cause." *The Sambad Kaumudi* was the first journal brought into existence by the noble efforts of the British officials of Calcutta. The government of Sir Charles Metcalfe started *Probhakar*, the earliest vernacular paper in the country with Iswarchandra Gupta, as its editor. Before long, the number multiplied and by the eighties of the last century "there were about 485 'Hindu-Brahman' newspapers and periodicals" established in India, working full blast in service of the British masters.

Creation of All-India Congress

By about the eighties of the nineteenth century, the "British

1. B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan*, p. 130.

Imperialism had almost accomplished its task." The innate sterility of the "Hindu" life was broken up. "Democracy," "Self-Government," "Majority Rule," became household words in the "Hindu-Brahman" society. The "Chosen Slave" was now awakened to the brute strength of "his" numbers and the dreadful influenc he would gain under the proposed change. Dreams of self-government shot up before his eyes and ambition of ruling the destinies of India flashed on his vision. Warmed up with a new urge of life, he began to snarl and snort, seething with virulent Brahmanic nationalism. But the Brahman lacked the genius to devise ways and means for laying the foundation of the new dreamland. He was groping in the dark knowing not wither to proceed. The "God-fathers" however soon came to his help. His Excellency the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, the then Governor-General of India, provided the brains, and A. O. Hume, the retired Secretary of the Indian Government, the required labour and, out of their concerted efforts, was conceived and born the "All-India National Congress." The "Sapling" received all the rich nourishment that an "Imperialist Policy" could lavish, and grew from strength to strength and power to power; and in course of time, it (the All-India Congress) rolled up in its embrace almost the entire "Hindu" populations and knit up the vast "Hindu" crowds into one frame and moulded them into one mind.

Monumental Achievements

The dexterous hand of the foreign wizard thus worked, on and on, its operations, silently and slowly, but steadily moulding and shaping the degenerate "Hindu" multitudes till a well-shaped "Hindu structure" came into being and the existence of the non-Aryan peoples was wiped out. Given birth to by the "British Policy," spoon-fed and nursed into what it is today by the English usurpers the "Hindu-structure," is the crest-pride of the English genius, the "Indian National Congress," the master-performance of the British Imperialism; and the establishment of Bharat as it is, and the extermination of the 150 million non-Aryans, form an instructive monument of the immortal hatred of the British against the Musalman.

CHAPTER IX

A DISCOVERY

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Spoon-feeding

THE fateful importance of the period from 1857 to the close of the nineteenth century in the history of India is most strongly felt today and most definitely acknowledged. During its first half, Muslims were engaged in a desperate struggle for freedom and thereafter they were involved in the horrible disaster of a failure. The British diplomacy nursed up the conception and raised a fresh structure of Brahmanism under the new name "Hinduism." By the "system of classification" adopted in 1880, the English government denied the right of independent and separate existence to the old peoples of India—Dravidians, Marathas, Rajputs, Santals and others. Those populations were classified as a part of Brahmanism; their label was changed from "Shudras" to "out-castes" or "othercastes" and they were enumerated as such in the census reports of 1881 and of the years thereafter. Their national existence politically disappeared; their simple faiths and cultures, in course of time, sank under the surface of Hinduism, and every hope of improvement or progress of those unfortunate inhabitants of India vanished for good. At the same time, the "underling" (Brahman) was fostered up and fed by state services, the permanent settlement of Bengal, land grants, trade contracts and by rich rewards for his loyalty, trained up in the British ways and exalted with the assurance of an Indian empire under the security of British bayonets. He was inspired to consider the Musalman, not as a brother-subject or a co-slave, but an enemy, and was inflamed with the double zeal of religion and revenge against the

"idol-breaker." Muslim history was defaced and distorted and the Musalman was branded with the name and guilt of a ghastly and contemptuous aggressor. Great and rapid, though silent and insensible, was the progress of the notion of "Indian Nationalism." In 1885 A.O. Hume, with the blessings of the then Viceroy, Dufferin, founded the "All-India National Congress" and earned the gratitude and an "everlasting" tribute of "the father" of the Brahmanic people. Sir William Wedderburn, another Englishman, suckled the new organisation as its first president and guided its footsteps till the "Congress" was firmly settled on a firm and permanent footing. Next year (1886) in December, the Viceroy (Dufferin), in appreciation of the noble efforts of the "Congress Members," entertained them as "distinguished visitors" to a garden party at the Government House when the "Indian National Congress" held its second annual session at Calcutta. Yet a better reception in their honour was given by the Governor of Madras next year (in 1887). By the strenuous labours of the rulers, seeds of the brown imperialism of the Brahman soon sprouted up into saplings; and the saplings then steadily grew up from strength to stregthen and, by 1890, their roots and branches almost covered the face of the country. The "Second Indian Councils Act," a prominent milestone on the road to "self-government," which makes the year 1892 prominent, threw open to the ambition of the Brahman the gates to future power. He captured the Councils and the local bodies and now consciously began to sway the administration as well as the politics of the country. The years that followed brought the "chosen slave" more and more into prominence and imperceptibly unveiled the British designs about the future of India.

Re-entry into Politics

The Musalman moved trembling from 1870 to 1905 under the shadows of "disloyalty" and "treason." He beheld the progress and elevation of the Brahman, and watched, as a helpless spectator, the major events being shaped to deprive him of his national existence, to degrade him to the position of a mean and permanent minority and eventually to lead him to utter ruination. The thinking Musalmans did feel the gravity of the situation. But freedom of expression for a Muslim was treason, and freedom of association, a rebellion. The fears, not unjust, of Sir Sayyid had weaned his people away from politics and dragged them to a self-imposed ignorance of and indifference towards politics of the country. As a result, the frustrated Musalman lost his soul and vision; he was left with no political goal before his eyes, and aimlessly drifted at the mercy of waves and winds of the British and Brahmanic make. However, in 1906 when the reports about the "Minto-Morley Reforms" swayed and agitated the atmosphere, the seriousness of the impending changes urged the leading Musalmans to abandon the policy of indifference and obliged them to take up courage to lay their fears before the Governor-

General. They begged permission for the setting up of a political organisation to speak for the Muslim India. An injury past recovery had already been inflicted and damage beyond repair had already been caused; the Governor-General saw no danger in granting the prayer. The All-India Muslim League was thus founded with the humble ambition "To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans." The first resolution moved by the Nawab of Dacca for the formation of the Muslim League, which would incidentally reveal the awful conditions in which the Muslims were living, runs as follows:

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decide that a Political Association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

"(*a*) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of the measures.

"(*b*) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

"(*c*) To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League."

Unlike the All-India National Congress which was brought into existence to inspire the Brahman with dreams of an all-India Brahmanic empire, the dangerous situation and sheer defensive instincts of the Musalman leaders gave birth to the All-India Muslim League. The formation of the Muslim League was just an attempt towards self-preservation whereas the All-India National Congress aimed at replacement of the British yoke by the chains of Brahmanic Imperialism. Unlike the Congress, the Muslim League reveals no hand of a master-author or an expert who could rear it up and afford it an experienced guidance. Its career, unlike the Congress, was unsteady, shaky and chequered and its aim undefined and uncertain.

No "Indian Nation" was in existence nor the Brahman and the Muslim formed a homogeneous society. The Indian Musalmans were a nation by themselves and not a party in a nation nor a "political minority." They had been all along up to 1857 so recognised and so treated. The parliamentary system of government of England, based as it is on the fundamental principle of changeable minority and majority, had no application to India—a home of so many nations differing from one another in entire range of life. This "elective and representative" system in India could only promise transfer of power from the British hands to those of the Brahman and substitution of the British rule by Brahmanic rule. Yet the very same system was

introduced. So far, almost all the seats in the Councils and Assemblies had been captured by the Brahman and there were no prospects of Muslim representation in those institutions—the springs of power and authority. No guidance was available; the Muslim leaders either could not see or foresee the mischiefs that would flow from the theory of "Indian Nation" (i.e. that all the inhabitants of India formed and were "one nation") or the shadows of the preceding age did not permit them to speak their mind or perhaps they vaguely thought that a proper Muslim representation in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils would afford them an adequate protection against the abuse of the majority vote. They "prayed" for "Separate Electorates" and some "special safeguards" for the Muslim people, and thus unconsciously accepted the position of a perpetual minority for the Muslim India.

The "Special Concessions" and "Weightages," howsoever high-sounding, could never be the substitute for freedom or power, nor could they save the nation against the onslaughts of a majority. The sonorous phrases, new and strange to the ears, however, coupled with the "fair advice" of the Viceroy that such measures were sufficient to blunt the edge of a majority, disarmed the apprehensions of the Muslim leaders. The wish or advice of a ruler is in reality a command. None could dare to differentiate between "liberation and freedom" on the one hand and the miserable helplessness of a "perpetual minority" on the other hand. The nation was led astray. The Muslim mind got entangled into the cobwebs of unserviceable "Weightages, Safeguards and Concessions" and lost a good opportunity to apply itself and search for the destination of the nation.

About fifty years after the rebirth of the Brahman and introduction of the conception of "Indian Nationalism," the Musalman thus again stepped into politics, but now into politics of the British make. The Britishers had fiendishly presumed the inhabitants of India as one nation and postulated that the sub-continent of India was one unit for any constitutional system of government. Quite obviously, any constitution which treated the inhabitants of India as one nation would exalt the Brahman (who, now exploiting the situation under the nomenclature "Hindus," outnumbered Muslims by three times) into the position of a permanent majority and transform the Muslims into a perpetual minority. Such a constitution, therefore, under the cover of "Indian Nationality," invested the Brahman with unfettered power of an absolute master, and reduced the Muslim existence dependent on his mercy.

Give lie a good start and truth can seldom take it. The studied and incessant British propaganda had advanced the notion of "Indian Nation" with a silent and insensible progress. By the close of nineteenth century, "Indian Nationalism" came to be regarded as a faith and it successfully captured the unsuspecting minds which were incapable or were not disposed to see the falsehood thereof and the

latent dangers flowing from it. The policy and energies of the "god-fathers" of the Brahman, the Britishers, had also shaped the events, and directed their administration towards constituting India as one constitutional unit. Absence of any resistance or opposition had lent a further help to the propagation of the myth of "Indian Nationalism." The atmosphere was so clouded and the vision so deceived by the propaganda of "Indian Nation" that it was not possible for the new entrants (Muslims) to understand the game, to sense the treacherous blow aimed at their political existence and discern a path of safety and security. There was no experience available to guide them nor would the British manoeuvres permit them to "go astray." Unconsciously, they allowed themselves to be treated a part of "Indian Nation." "Separate Electorates," they thought and were advised, would rescue them from the new perils, if any, and therefore demanded "Separate Electorates." From "Separate Electorates" they wandered, in search of security, to "Special Concessions," to "Weightages" and to "Safeguards."

At Mercy of Waves and Winds

The Muslim League was rather a deliberative body confined to a few, and those few could not allow the new organisation to reach the masses lest, under the shadows of the 1857-1900, they might again be accused as "rebels" and invite once again the operations of the British arms against their people. A revolutionary programme was out of question. Confronted with a difficult situation, the Muslim League advanced with "great caution," always "assuring its loyalty" to British Government, and repeating its faith in "Separate Electorates," "Safeguards" and "Weightages."

The thinking minds of the nation, however, had sensed, though vaguely, a grave danger in an elective system as contemplated by the British Imperialism under the slogan of "Indian Nationalism." But, in the absence of a clear vision, the picture of "Indian Nationalism," drawn by the enemies, could forcefully appeal to sentiment and dazzle the mind. The artful and one-sided propaganda of "Indian Nationality" had gradually and imperceptibly clouded the thought. The "British way" permitted no enquiry into the fabric of the "Indian Nation" nor an analysis of the facts and environments. The Press was owned by either the Brahman or the British. Muslims had no paper. Anyone who mustered courage to question the truth or suspect the pretence of the "Indian Nation" was pursued with an unending stream of invectives and dubbed by the Brahman Press as a "reactionary," a "traitor" or a "toady," till his voice was drowned in the shouts and echoes of "Indian Nationalism." Amidst such an atmosphere, the Muslim India, clinging to "Separate Electorates" as a great achievement, wandered into the years 1913, 1914, when the outbreak of the First World War brought yet another calamity upon the unfortunate Muslims. The Indian Musalman was in a trying situation; as a test of his loyalty, he was asked to fight

against the Turks. His refusal and his resentment against the British atrocities, perpetrated on the Turks, revived the old charge of disloyalty and replunged the Muslim people into the distress of the preceding age. But to the Brahman, the war came a godsend opportunity. He was attached to the interests of the British Imperialism as firmly as ever and the immediate and vehement support of the Brahmanic leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, to the war effort, which amply confirmed the "Brahmanic loyalty" to the foreign masters, earned him rich rewards in the economic as well as the political field.

Emotions again ran high against the English brutalities during the calamitous years 1913-18; sentiments prevailed over reason and the Indian Musalman was prepared to sacrifice anything if the British could be driven out of India. It was this spirit which allowed the Muslim League to be tied (under the "Lucknow Pact") to the Congress (1916). By the "Lucknow Pact" which, undoubtedly, was a grand success of the Brahman, the Muslim League unreservedly, though unconsciously, surrendered to the enemy and conceded to the Brahman a complete mastery of India in the name of a "permanent majority." The Muslim League embraced the "Congress" ideology that the Indian Muslims were a minority and unconsciously accepted to work for ruin of the Muslim future. The instincts of self-preservation were thus again deceived into slumber and the thinking genius lost another opportunity to exert itself and search for a goal for the nation's liberation. In 1917 the British Government announced that India would be granted "self-government" within the British Empire. The years 1918 and 1919 which were marked by a great political ferment, heat of discussions and repercussions and clamours of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, rolled away, unavailed of by the Musalmans. They had as yet no object before their eyes to press for and to proceed to and were as undecided as in 1906 or before; but certainly more disunited. Some including Jinnah were with the Congress and almost received their opinions from the oracle of the Brahman Press. Others wasted their zeal and energies by organising the "Khilafat Movement"; and the remaining, in their anxiety for a salvation from the British yoke, blindly plunged themselves into the "Hijrat Movement" (migration from India.)

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme produced the Government of India Act, 1919—another prominent milestone on the road to "liberation from the British domination" but to "imposition of the Brahmanic yoke." The partial autonomy, this new Act introduced, quietly placed the Brahman, with the support and under the protection of the British arms, in substantial charge of the British administration. He swayed the Central and Provincial Legislatures where he captured the "Indian Seats" except the few reserved for "non-Hindus." This sudden and undeserved elevation intoxicated the Brahman beyond measure and, in sheer anxiety to dignify his

meanness and strike terror of his rise, he inspired countrywide riots known as "Hindu-Muslim riots." Those riots dominated the Indian scene from 1920 to 1928 and gave ample foretaste of the "Ram Raj" (the Brahman rule). The riots, however regrettable and ugly, had had their own importance ; they unveiled the fate the future had in store for Muslims, tore up the mask of "self-government" and held out a stern warning to the Muslims, who, deceived by the "one-nation theory," were prepared to accept a servile existence under the domination of Brahmanic majority. The riots shocked their "unrealistic approach," destroyed their imaginary basis of unity or freedom and rekindled the spark of reason and analysis. The Nehru Report, a draft constitution prepared by the All-India Congress in 1929 for the future of India, boldly offered to Muslim India the alternative of a naked servitude or conversion into the Brahmanic religion as price of living in India, and added fresh provocations to the self-respecting people. Meanwhile in 1928 the British Government had sent to India a Commission of seven members, known as Simon Commission, to review the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and to make recommendations for the future of India. The Simon Commission invited opinions and representations; but the Muslims had no solution for their fears or problems to present. The continuous injuries of the Brahman-ridden British administration, setbacks in the legislatures and the deluge of the Brahman-inspired riots and, above all, the Nehru Report of 1929, had made them (the Muslims) painfully conscious of the dangers inherent in "the proposed elective system," which would transfer them from the chains of the British Imperialism to the chains of the Brahmanic Imperialism as a helpless "perpetual minority." But they were as undecided, disunited, confused and bewildered as before. They could not so far search a destination. Their thoughts, confounded as they were by the propaganda of the British and the Brahman Press, were fixed as yet on "Indian Nationalism" and could not penetrate the camouflage of "Weightages" and "Concessions."

Discovery of Pakistan

The years 1930-33 were marked by the "Round-Table Conferences" convened by the British Cabinet to consider the Simon Commission Report, and to take a decision about the future of the peoples of the sub-continent of India. The issues involved were both grave and great and raised a life-and-death question for the Muslims. But the Musalman nominees, invited to the Conferences, had no proposal to offer. They were unable to rend the smoke-screen of the Brahmano-British propaganda of "Indian Nationalism" and look beyond the horizon of "Weightages" and "Safeguards." Ignorance was parading in the guise of knowledge. Relying on the deceitful hope of "goodwill" and "mercy" of the Brahman, they were prepared to repose confidence in "Weightages" and "Safeguards" and offered to accept the "Federal Constitution" as cast by the British—a consti-

tution which proposed to degrade the Muslim nation into a mean, permanent minority and granted the Brahman the position of a permanent majority. The horrid phantom of the proposed Federal India, which envisaged merely transfer of India from the grips of British Imperialism to the claws of Brahmanism, made the thinking Musalman gravely apprehensive; but as yet he possessed no solution for his fears. He had no destination to proceed to and no goal to reach. He regretted the past; he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reasons to dread. Lost in the labyrinth of the "Indian Nationalism," "Special Weightages," "Concessions" and "Special Responsibilities," the nation knew not a way out; and, groping thus in the darkness and amidst the gravest possible dangers, the scattered caravan was drifting at the mercy of the circumstances. At such a critical juncture, however, the provoked genius of the late Dr. Iqbal miraculously came to the rescue of the nation. Piercing through the "darkness of the situation" and penetrating into thickets grown by the propaganda of "Indian Nation," Iqbal discovered with the insight of a path-finder, both the spring-source of mischief and the destination and showed the way to liberation from the chains of Brahman's Imperialism and to the haven of safety, freedom and liberty. In his historical address delivered at the All-India Muslim Conference held at Allahabad in December 1930, he unmasked the force of "Indian Nationalism," exposed to the public eyes the scandal or pretence of the Brahmano-British propaganda that Muslims were "a minority," and disclaimed the worship of "Indian Nationalism." He courageously declared that Muslims were not a "minority" but a "nation" and that "the problem of India is international, neither national nor communal." He proposed the division of the provinces of the sub-continent between the Brahman and the Musalman, for the time being, on the basis of majority population, and that course alone, he said, could satisfy their respective aspirations and secure one against the fears of the domination by the other.[1] This proposal promised to the Indian Muslim security in his homeland where he could aspire to exist and live as a nation in the comity of the nations of the world and it was described as "the Pakistan idea.'

Nation Perceives Destination

Up to about the eighties of the nineteenth century, the Indian Musalman had before his eyes a positive political object to inspire his vision and to animate his footsteps—the object to deliver India from the foreign yoke and to re-establish himself. With the success of Sir Sayyid's efforts for reconciliation of the Muslim thought with the British slavery, that great aim disappeared. The Musalman, plunged into a chaos, was deprived of all vision; he lost his self and

1. Muslims were in majority in the Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Assam and Bengal; these provinces formed the homeland of the Indian Muslims. Iqbal proposed that these regions must be free from Brahman's domination and Muslims should have the sovereign authority in their homeland.

his national existence became aimless. From 1906 onwards, he unconsciously accepted the miserable position of a permanent "minority," submitted to the Brahmanic domination and drifted at the mercy of the circumstances. Iqbal's pronouncement shook the Indian Muslim to understand his national position and sought to assert the birthright for self-preservation of the Muslim nation in the provinces of Bengal, Assam, the Punjab, Sind, North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan, where they formed the majority population. Without trespassing in any manner upon the Brahman's rights and his preserves, and in complete conformity with the principles of elective representation, the "Pakistan idea" offered a prospect of an escape to the Muslim homeland from the "proposed Brahmanic yoke" and a fair adjustment of the Brahman-Muslim claims. But in the eyes of the Brahman, Iqbal's proposal was obnoxious as it rose to prevent the imposition of his domination on the entire sub-continent and offered to save the Muslim homeland (those provinces where Muslims were in majority) from the chains of Brahmanic Imperialism. It offended the British as it sought to upset their design—the design of political extermination of the Indian Muslims, and also sought to expose the evils of "Indian Nationalism" sown and grown by the British hands and sanctified by their propaganda and time. Batteries of the Brahman and British Press shelled and bombarded the "new "conception" and a great campaign started to brush aside the "Pakistan idea." It was ridiculed as a "freak of a poet's wayward imagination" and condemned as a "reactionary and unpatriotic device," introduced to destroy the "fabric of Indian Unity and Indian Nationalism." All who dared to support it were execrated. So strong and effective was the propaganda carried on to nip it in the bud, that the elderly generation of the Muslim politicians were easily seduced and *they* also decried the "Pakistan idea" as "the hysteric outburst" of a poet and dismissed it as "chimerical and impracticable." But the younger generation, which beheld the dawn and refused to be deceived and impressed by the Brahman Press, were too firm to yield. Their devoted efforts surmounted all odds, fired the reasoning of the nation, worked an immediate change in all the current ideals of the nation and gave a new turn to events in the Indian politics. Choudhri Rehmat Ali,[1] the author of the word "Pakistan" and his various associates, in particular S. M. Jamil Wasti, richly deserve gratitude of the nation for their resolute determination and missionary endeavours which infused the spirit of the new realisation among the young intellectuals in the English Universities and the Muslim youth in India and made within a few years "Pakistan idea" an undeniable reality in the contemporary politics of the sub-continent. Between Iqbal's conception of the "Muslim homeland" and the final success attending the politics of Jinnah in this direction, the link is provided by the devoted efforts of those

1. See Ch. Rehmat Ali, *Now or Never.*

very patriots.

All the Brahman and British propaganda of "Indian Nation" could not prevent the break-up of the artifical political life that had been imposed on India; in fact, anti-Pakistan propaganda was one of the major factors that hastened the dissolution of the myth of "Indian Nation." The "Pakistan idea" received the warmest welcome at Lahore where it soon began to grow rapidly in roots, trunk and branches with rapid progress. From Lahore its thrilling inspiration spread over the cities of India. Gradually, then, it penetrated into villages, hamlets and huts, till, at length, the country, from one corner to the other, began to vibrate with the slogan of Pakistan. The new concept demolished the baseless theory of "Indian Nationality" which had thrived and floated in the looseness of sentiments, laid bare the game planned under the cover of "Indian Nationalism" by the Anglo-Brahman conspiracy and showed the road to freedom and security and cut asunder the clouds of indecision and uncertainty, drift and darkness.

Government of India Act, 1935

The British Government had called the "First Round-Table Conference" in London in 1930. Discussions proceeded in the usual British way and the "labours" of a tiresome period of five years produced "The Government of India Act, 1935." No notice of the growing "movement of Pakistan" and the realistic app oach suggested by Dr. Iqbal was taken by the framers of the Act. The new Act in one part laid down a complete constitutional scheme for replacement of the British Imperialism by the Brahmanic yoke under the name "Indian Federation" wherein the Brahman was exalted to a permanent majority and the Musalman was degraded into a perpetual minority. But, fortunately for the Muslim nation, the proposed Federation was not to come into being until a specific number of the Indian States had agreed to join it. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 interrupted the "negotiations" between the States and the Governor-General with the result that the proposed Federation never came into existence. The other part of the Act provided for autonomy to the provinces (of British India) and it was immediately carried into effect. Elections were soon held under the terms of the Act of 1935. The Brahman organisation, i.e. "All-India National Congress," captured absolute majorities in six provinces of Orissa, Madras, Bombay, Central Province, United Provinces, and Bihar; and in a seventh province, the North-West Frontier Province, the Brahman subsidised the movement, known as "The Red Shirt Movement," and managed to control majority vote of the members. The remaining four provinces, Bengal, Sind, Assam, and the Punjab, where Muslims were in numerical majorities, allowed, in spite of its treasures, no substantial footing to the Congress. Coalition governments, in which Muslims predominated, were formed soon after the elections in these four provinces. But as regards the other seven

provinces, the Brahman demanded, as a condition precedent to his acceptance of office, elimination of the provisions relating to the "special responsibilities" of the Governors and the Governor-General from the Government of India Act, 1935, the so-called "safeguards" provided as a refuge for a "minority" in the last resort against the tyranny of a "majority."[1] Ready assurances of "full cooperation" from the British authorities, however, solved the difficulty and "purely Brahmanic" ministries were formed in those provinces. The Brahman, haughtily, turned down all offers of coalition with any other party and refused to recognise any individual, party or a people unless they sank their identity, merged their existence in the Congress and unconditionally submitted to the Brahmanic yoke.

Unmasked Brahman

By 1936 Jinnah had revived the Muslim League which had since 1917 dropped into the background, and devoted his abilities to the service of the organisation. He had entered into politics as a "staunch Congressman," but finding Gandhi's policies and methods unacceptible, he left the Congress in 1922 and followed an independent course. Nevertheless, he remained convinced that cooperation with the Congress was desirable and possible in the common task of ridding India of the British, and his sincerity had so impressed his contemporaries that in Pandit Nehru's "Autobiography," published in 1937, reference was made to him as "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." On this conviction he led the Muslim delegates in the Central Assembly—even though by so doing he "incurred the suspicion of other Muslims"—and with the same intentions he took

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1. The "Special Responsibilities" of the Governor-General were as follows (*History of India*, p. 146):

1. Safeguarding the financial stability and the credit of India.
2. The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part of India.
3. Safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities.
4. Safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the public servants and their dependents.
5. The prevention of commercial discrimination.
6. Prevention of discriminatory taxation against goods of British origin or Burmese origin.
7. Safeguarding of the interests of the Indian States and the dignity of their rulers.
8. The securing of the due discharge of his discretionary powers.

The "Special Responsibilities" of the Governors were as follows (*History of India*, p. 148):

1. Prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part of the Province.
2. Safeguarding of the rights and legitimate interests of the public servants and their dependents.
3. Safeguarding of the rights and interests of the Indian States and the dignity of their rulers.
4. Safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities.
5. Administration of partially-excluded areas.
6. Prevention of commercial discrimination against Englishmen and their goods.
7. Execution of the orders and directions of the Governor-General issued by him in his discretion.

the Muslim League into the provincial elections held in 1937 and based his election campaign on the hope of "forming Congress-League coalition ministries." He strove hard and even went abegging for coalition with the Congress. His reasoning was sound and unassailable and his situation might excite pity, but his arguments could not reach the understanding of the Brahman who, swollen with the power he had obtained, unhestitatingly appeared in the naked shape of his Aryan ancestors and looked upon the Muslims as the "Vanquished Dravidians." The Brahman's pride disdained Jinnah's advice or suggestion for a compromise. With an intolerable affront, he rejected the offer of coalition ministries with the Muslim League and claimed in the name of the All-India Congress to represent all Indians including the Musalmans, and ultimately to replace the British. The haughty refusal (on the part of the Brahman) to recognise the Muslim League and reach a compromise with it, accompanied by the Congress claim to the mastery of India, forms one of those decisive causes which so often have influenced the fate of empires and governments; and it marks a turning-point in the recent history of India. The "refusal" was a writing on the wall. It left hardly anyone in doubt as to the likely fate which the Musalmans could expect under a Brahman Raj and, to the disappointment of the Brahman's suppositions, it proved more useful to the Muslim League than to the Congress.

It exposed to the public eyes the hollowness and falsehood of the Brahmanic professions of "Indian Nationalism," unmasked the dangers inherent in "Indian Federalism" and unveiled the character of the rapacious wolf in the shape of the Brahman; it excited regret and provoked the indignation and fears of all those who had as yet indulged themselves in the lofty speculations of "Nationalism," "Brahman-Muslim unity" and "coalitions" and reunited almost all those who were so far disunited; and finally it turned the Muslim League for the first time in its history into an effective political force.

Jinnah—from a Leader to be the Only Leader

Mr. Jinnah, mortified by a personal sense of slight and humiliated by the public rebuff to a policy he had pursued for years, rejected the Congress claim "that, if he and his League wanted a share in government, they must be absorbed into Congress and submit to the control of its Brahmanic majority." Acceptance of that view, he now realised and felt, would amount to political suicide for his people. He boldly and wisely resolved to assert the right of self-preservation of his nation, set himself to rally the Muslim people round the Muslim League and sustained with firmness the invectives of the Brahman Press and pulpit. The youth of the nation at once crowded under the standard of his organisation. The Muslim prime ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam along with their supporters, driven by the common hardships of their misfortune, also in due course received him with joyful and loyal acclamations as their leader,

and submitted themselves to the discipline of the Muslim League. Before long the control exercised by Jinnah from the League headquarters over the Muslim-led ministries of the Punjab and Bengal compared with that exerted by the Congress over its ministries. From 1937 onwards, in by-elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, the Muslim League gained every Muslim seat, and by 1939 Jinnah was perforce acknowledged as not merely one among a number but the only leader of the Muslim people and their organisation, the Muslim League, as the only representative body of the Muslim India.

Pakistan Resolution

Mr. Jinnah and many others had been thinking up to 1937 in terms of "Coalitions," "Safeguards," "Concessions" and "Special Responsibilities." But the experience of two and a half years' Congress rule (1937-1940) was very bitter; the seeming iron-walls of the weightages and safeguards faired no better than the walls of cards. Time showed that the appeals to patriotism or fairplay and the topics of virtues of moderation and humanity, which are so familiar to the eloquence of the weak, always excite rather than change the dark designs or check the aggression of the stronger. The atrocities committed by the Brahman during these two years of his rule rudely shocked Jinnah and he was obliged to acknowledge that: "The Muslims can expect neither justice nor fairplay under the Congress Government." By 1939, he was driven to see wisdom in "Pakistan idea" and from acceptance of the Act of 1935, he now swung to Iqbal's theme. "English parliamentary government," he declared, "with its emphasis on majority rule and the maintenance of a strong central government, would permanently subject the Muslims to the Congress and was therefore unsuited to India." Echoing the words of Iqbal, he said in 1940, "There are in India two nations," and "that in fact only a separate, national homeland would remove Muslim fears." Eventually the Muslim League at its famous Lahore Session (1940) adopted as its object, the "Pakistan Resolution" whereby a separate, independent state to be called "Pakistan" was demanded as the national home for the Indian Muslims. This State was defined to comprise the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west, and of Bengal and Assam in the north-east.

The Pakistan demand, now having been formally adopted by the Muslim League, tore up into smithereens the fabric of "Indian Nationalism" and political partition of India, thereafter, became the fundamental issue of Indian politics.

The War

Meanwhile, in September 1939 the Second World War had broken out and Britain, as in 1914, took India to war with her. The Indian Muslims had opposed the British war effort in 1914 and suffered heavy consequences; while the Brahman had supported it and

reaped a rich harvest. This time, too, the Brahman expected a similar error on the part of Muslims and reoccurrence of similar consequences and out he came with his crocodile tears and high platitudes of sympathy. Mr. Gandhi saw the Viceroy on September 5; he "broke down" as he pictured the destruction of the "Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey"; he sighed; he wept, and implored the justice of heaven to punish the author of such calamities. "I am not thinking just now of India's deliverance," wrote the Mahatma. "It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany, ruined and humbled?" On September 8, the Brahman Nehru promised that Congress would not aim to take advantage of the "British difficulties." He said, "In a conflict between democracy and freedom, on the one hand, and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy..... I should like India to play the full part....." But expectations of the Brahman were utterly frustrated as the Muslim League, under the astute leadership of Jinnah, while choosing to remain neutral, left the provincial leaders free to cooperate with or help the war effort in their individual capacities.

The first to swear and the first to violate his "pledge of support" was this very nineteeth-century Aryan who had been trained up by the Britishers as their legal "heir" to their Indian empire and their imperial fortunes. The ungrateful Brahman changed with the change of Britain's fortune. Forgetting the favours of the past and present, he astonished his benefactors with the painful sermons on the vicissitudes of war and demanded immediate transfer of power and control of India unto himself and his organisation, the Congress, as price of his cooperation in the war effort; he also held out a threat to go out of the provincial ministries if the British authorities did not surrender. But his calculations were deceived by his wishful thinking. To his shocking surprise, Britain did not find it to her interest to yield to him, and the Congress ministries were left with no alternative other than to walk out of office with regrets on December 22. The Muslim League observed December 22 as "a Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving, as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function"; and, to the great astonishment of the Congress, December 22 was not merely a Muslim celebration; the Parsees, Christians and hundreds of thousands of the "Untouchables" "joined in the great demonstration."

In its attitude towards the "war effort," the Muslim League allowed its members individually to cooperate with Britain, but offered its snupport only on terms, namely, that the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935, which envisaged to establish Brahman rule in India should be rejected and that Muslims should have the right to determine their constitutional future where they are in majority. This was perhaps the first occasion when the Muslim leaders, rising

above sentiments and emotions, followed a correct policy conducive to their national interests.

Cripps' Mission

Whilst the fighting remained remote from India, Britain's war effort in the East was hardly affected. The munition industries steadily expanded; the "volunteer armies" rose to over two million; and England could well afford to ignore the political demands in India. But when Japan entered the war in December 1941, and, slicing easily through the defences of Singapore and Burma, stood on the threshold of India and the various Indian army units on Burma and Singapore fronts formed themselves, with the Japanese aid, into the Indian National Army for liberation of India from the British yoke, the British Government found it imperative to attempt at once to rally the moral support of the major political groups behind the Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen defending the frontiers and coasts. The British war cabinet hastily despatched Sir Stafford Cripps (on March 22, 1942) with a Draft Declaration which became known as the Cripps' Offer.

This draft contained proposals both for participation of Indian leaders in the government during the war and for the steps to be taken afterwards to reach a constitutional settlement. For the present, the British Government invited "the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations." Only the defence of India would remain under the control of the British Government "as part of their world war effort." All the other porfolios on the Viceroy's Executive Council would be entrusted to Indians who, moreover, would not, like their predecessors, be merely nominees of the Viceroy, but would be chosen in consultation with the political parties.

For the future, the British Government looked forward to the creation of a new Indian Union with full Dominion Status, including the right of secession from the Commonwealth. To this end an elected constitution-making body would be set up immediately after the war. The British Government undertook "to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed" subject only to twoconditions. The first was that any province or provinces which did not accept the new Union constitution could devise a new constitution of theirs "giving them the same full status as the Indian Union"; the Indian States would likewise be free to choose whether to join the Union or to stay out. The second was that a Treaty should be signed between Government and the matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, including the "protection of racial and religious minorities."

Brahman's Struggle for Brown Imperialism

The British Cabinet thus recognised, though indirectly, for the first time the Muslim demand for "Pakistan." The Declaration expressly permitted the right of self-determination for every province and formation of one or more unions in India. This new phase of events upset the Brahman beyond measure. The Mahatma regarded the "effort" as "a post-dated cheque on a bank that is obviously failing" and rejected it. Meanwhile both Singapore and Rangoon had fallen; the Japanese had reached Assam borders and the tide of their conquest was rolling at a tremendous pace, so much so that the Indian civil servants in Bengal and on Assam borders deserted their posts and escaped inland. The British armies were detained in the distant countries of East or West; regions after regions were abandoned to the enemy; London itself was quaking under the German bombs. The British people were fixed in a terribly critical situation. At this hour India was left destitute of troops and without defence. The Brahman, discovering the distress of Britain, chose to embrace this favourable moment to strike. He again admonished her (Britain) of the fickleness of fortune and uncertainty of the chances of war and then arrogantly threatened her (in July 1942) with an "open rebellion unless the authority in India was transferred forthwith to the Congress." In August Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated the "Quit India" movement with great ceremony and the much-talked revolt made its appearance. "There is no question," he said, "of one more chance. After all this is open rebellion." But independence was only a pretence; ambition to capture authority for himself and to impose brown imperialism upon the peoples of India was the motive of the Brahman's moves and proclamations that followed. The British Government, however, desirous as yet to retain the power which though it appeared to be incapable of exercising, again refused to surrender and stood firm.

Jinnah had exposed and denounced the Congress demand for conversion of the Viceroy's Executive Council into a Cabinet, which had brought the Cripps' negotiations to an end, as an "attempt to capture, in the name of national independence, the control of government for Congress itself thus putting the Muslims and other minorities at its mercy." The League now formally condemned the "open rebellion" launched by Congress as a bid to achieve the same end by direct action, and called upon all Muslims to have nothing to do with the movement. Meanwhile it assured the British Government of Muslim cooperation in the war effort if it would pledge itself to abide by the "verdict of a plebiscite of Muslims and give effect to the Pakistan scheme."

The Congress was declared unlawful and some of its leaders were interned. An outbreak of violence and sabotage here and there occurred; but in a few weeks the threatened worst was over, and, by the end of November 1942, all was over. Ridiculing the vanity

which the Brahman had assumed about the potentialities of the All-India Congress, Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker, G.O.C. of C. Eastern Command in 1945-46, who had served with the Indian Army for thirty-four years, observes:[1]

> "In his autobiography, Pandit Nehru deceives himself in thinking that his Congress Party kept our British civil officials in a torment of fear for the security of their own Government or perhaps for their own persons. His book has been widely read all over the world, more widely than will ever this book of mine be read. Throughout my thirty-three odd years in India I have never seen a British administrator, high or low, frightened by anything that the Congress Party had contrived."

General Elections

The European war ended in May 1945; in July, the Labour Party was returned to power; and in August came the unconditional surrender of Japan. The massive events that followed began to influence the Indian scene as well; and one of the early decisions taken by the Labour Government was that the general elections should be held in India in January 1946.

The election results gave striking proof that the Musalmans were ranged solidly behind the League. The Congress gained all the seats in the Central Assembly reserved for the Brahmanic people under the name "Hindus." In eight Provinces (Orissa, Madras, Central Provinces, N.-W.F.P., United Provinces, Bihar and Assam) it gained an absolute majority; in the remaining three it was the second largest party. The Muslim League won all the seats in the Central Assembly and 98% of the seats in provincial assemblies reserved for Muslims. The Akali party emerged as the strongest among the Sikhs.

Minority Rule in the Punjab

The Congress formed ministries in the eight provinces where it was in the majority. These included two of the provinces claimed for Pakistan, namely, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province. In the remaining three provinces, Bengal, Sind and the Punjab, the Muslim League was the largest single party[2] in the Assembly. In Bengal and Sind the League took office; but in the Punjab, which was considered the heart of Pakistan, the Governor, with the vicious nod of the Viceroy, refused the majority party a right to form Cabinet; instead he installed a Brahman-controlled cabinet with Khizar as the premier. In the Punjab the population of the Brahman people was 22% while that of the Muslims 57%. The League held 82 out of 86 Muslim seats. Khizar was returned not from a Muslim seat but from Landholders' Constituency. As a result, the democratic Brah-

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1. *While Memory Serves.*

2. The Muslims formed 57% of the population in the Punjab. But under the Government of India Act, 1935, the seats allotted to them in the Legislature were 47% of the total seats and not according to the population ratio.

manic minority of 22% was put in power to rule the 78% of the population of the Punjab, and the party which had scored the greatest success at the elections was kept out of office by the "justice of the British diplomacy."

Cabinet Mission

In March 1946, at the behest of the British Cabinet, three of its members, namely Lord Pathick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Mr. A.V. Alexander, and Sir Stafford Cripps (called the Cabinet Mission), reached India with the object to promote, "in conjunction with the leaders of public opinion, the early realisation of self-government in India." The Viceroy invited the Congress and League leaders and they repeatedly met the Cabinet Mission. But the negotiations and efforts for a compromise failed as usual and the Cabinet Mission, then, framed and announced their own plan.

A Central Constituent Assembly was to be formed, with members chosen through communal electorates, on the basis of one member for each million of the population. This Constituent Assembly would frame the new Constitution for the "Union of India." Their plan introduced a new system of "grouping" of the provinces in British India:

Group A: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, and Orissa—the Hindu-majority group.

Group B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Sind—the Western, Muslim-majority group.

Group C: Bengal and Assam—the Eastern, Muslim-majority group.

Table of Representation

Section 'A'

Province	General	Muslims	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Section 'B'

Province	General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Punjab	8	16	4	28
N.-W. Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

Section 'C'

Province	General	Muslims	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India	..	..	292
Maximum for Indian States	..	..	93
		Total	385

The provinces of India were given the power to opt out of the Groups by a decision of their Legislatures after the general elections under the new Constitution:

"Each of these groups would also have its own constitution, and each would be autonomous in all departments, except Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications, which would be controlled by the 'Union of India' at the Centre.

"The proposed 'Union of India' embraced both British India and the States, and any question involving a major communal issue was to require for its decision a majority of the representatives of each of the two major communities as well as an overall majority. The Union and Group constitutions were to provide that any Province might, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution at the end of ten-year periods.

"The procedure proposed for the Constituent Assembly was that after a preliminary meeting to settle the order of business and to elect officers the provincial representatives would divide into three sections—Section A consisting of the Provinces not claimed for Pakistan, Section B of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and British Baluchistan, and Section C of Bengal and Assam. Each section would then settle the Provincial constitutions for the Provinces which it included, and would also decide whether there should be a Group constitution and, if so, with what subjects it should deal. Finally the whole Assembly would come together again to draw up the Union constitution. The Assembly would not accept resolutions varying the agreed basis of the constitution or raising any major communal issue, unless these were agreed to by a majority of the representatives of each of the two major communities. The Chairman of the Assembly would decide when a major communal issue was involved and, if so requested by a majority of those representing either of the major

communities, would consult the Federal Court before giving his decision. After the first general election under the new constitution it would be open to any Province to decide, by vote of its Legislature, to come out of any Group in which it had been placed.

"Also, the Cabinet Mission proposed the formation of an Interim Government, to be in office until inauguration of the Constituent Assembly. On June 3, Lord Wavell recognised the League's parity with the Congress by offering it equal representation, with Congress, in the Interim Government. The League and Congress would have five seats each: there would also be one member representing the Sikhs, and one, the 'Untouchables.' "

Wavell—the Perfidious

The history that relates the political happenings of the recent years in this sub-continent is both singular and tragic as it is rather an account of the shocking hypocrisy or dishonesty, which British Government employed to establish the Brahman on the imperial throne of India and cripple the other peoples. The Cabinet Mission had proposed formation of an Interim Government to remain in office until the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly. On June 3, Lord Wavell, recognising parity between the League and the Congress, offered the League and the Congress "equal representation" in the Interim Government, with the addition of two members, one representing the Sikhs and the other of the "Untouchables." The Muslim League accepted the offer; but, a few days later, the Viceroy changed his mind and decided to add two more representatives, one of the Parsee Community and the other of the Anglo-Indian community.

On June 16, the Viceroy, after conference with the Cabinet Mission, invited five members from the League, five from the Congress and one from each of the four minority communities and declared that he hoped "all parties, especially the two major parties," would cooperate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Then he announced and promised that "In the event of the two parties (League or Congress) or either of them, proving unwilling" to join, he would "proceed with the formation of an Interim Government," with those who would accept the plan.

The Congress accepted the long-term scheme, but rejected the interim scheme and turned down the invitation and refused to nominate any members to the "Interim Government." The Muslim League, however, accepted both the long-term as well as the short-term proposals as, according to Mr. Jinnah, "in fact the foundation and basis of Pakistan were there in those schemes"; the League also accepted the invitation of forming or joining the Cabinet and thus deserved, in terms of the Viceroy's declaration and promise, to form the "Interim Government." But Wavell stunned the world conscience

when he perfidiously declined to call the Muslim League to form the "Interim Government." On June 26 the Cabinet Mission made another treacherous announcement that the plan had been shelved; and the one-eyed Viceroy, putting aside his ten-day-old promise, formed a "Caretaker Government" of permanent officials, without reference to the Muslim League, or to the minorities to whom he had promised representation. Muslim India was betrayed; but the palace intrigues of the Viceroy and the Brahman once again exposed the dishonest role of Wavell and his partisanship.

Stung by the perfidious blow, Jinnah wrote to the Viceroy: "You have chosen to go back on your pledged word...." But the future held yet more stunning events. Once more Wavell, who had all along maintained a secret and wicked alliance with the Brahman, changed his mind, and wrote to Jinnah, on July 22, conveying that the Congress would be appeased if the Muslim League would agree to a revised distribution of seats—six for Congress, five for the League, and three for members representing other minorities. "This is the fourth basis that you are suggesting for the formation of your Interim Government. . . .Every time the Congress turned down the previous three proposals, as you were unable to appease them, or propitiate them; and every time, the departure was prejudicial to the League and in favour of the Congress. . . . Your present proposal clearly destroys the principle of parity. . . . and gives a clear majority to the Congress as against the League," was the reply which indignation extorted from Jinnah.

Exasperated by the continuous violation of pledges and promises, acts of dishonesty and wickedness on the part of the British representative, the Muslim League was obliged to convene a council meeting on July 28 in Bombay to acquaint the people with dangers of the embarrassing situation. The Quaid-e-Azam, reveiwing the debased and perfidious moves of the Viceroy and the insidious arts of the Brahman to seize power, said, "I feel we have exhausted all reason. It is no use looking to any other source for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim Nation." At the end of Quaid-e-Azam's speech, eminent Muslims climbed on to the platform and dramatically renounced the titles and honours they had once accepted from their British rulers. The Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals, and sanctioned "Direct Action" to push the cause of Pakistan. August 16 was chosen as the day on which, throughout India, the League would explain to the people exactly why its acceptance was cancelled and its policy changed.

Brahman Installed on Indian Throne

In the meantime, after League's rejection of the Cabinet Mission's Proposal, secret negotations of Wavell and the Brahman proceeded with alarming progress; the artful Brahman revived and refreshed his allegiance on the one hand and on the other successfully

rekindled in the breast of the soldier Viceroy the old prejudices of his race against the Muslims. They conspired to outdo Jinnah, chastise his "insolence" and crush his League. The Brahman retraced his footsteps and, on August 10, the Congress decided to accept in entirety the Cabinet Mission proposal, i.e. the short-term scheme of Interim Government as well. The Viceroy in return also deserted his pledge, and, by-passing the Muslim League, at once invited the Congress President, the Brahman Nehru, to form the Interim Government. Nehru embraced the welcome opportunity. On August 24, the Viceroy announced the names of his Congress-nominated Interim Government, with Brahman Nehru as his Vice-President. Again that very evening, without reference to Jinnah or the League, Wavell broadcast an "appeal" to the Muslims for "their cooperation." The wicked somersault was not merely a dishonest or perfidious act to humiliate and coerce Jinnah, but was an insidious attempt to destroy the unity of Muslim India, a sharp dagger flung to "murder" the Muslim League and thereby the Muslim India. In the words of Jinnah, this was "a naive and extraordinary request." Jinnah felt obliged to open his lips and said in a speech at Bombay on August 29: "The Viceroy has committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and by-passing the Muslim League. . . .The Viceroy's action today is nothing but a wicked breach of the declaration of August 1946, made by the British Government...." But Wavell and his prejudice were blind and deaf to justice and reproaches of mankind. Notwithstanding the solemn pledges of the British Government to act as a just and impartial "mediator" between the peoples of India, the Field Marshall, ignorant of the rights, conscience and demands of dignity, administered on September 2, 1946, the cath of fidelity to the Brahman in the Council Hall of the Viceroy's House at Delhi. The Brahman reaped a rich harvest of the Viceroy's wickedness and filled the Central Secretariat with the Congress nominees.

An insidious intrigue and naked dishonesty of Wavell, thus, set up a Brahman Government at the Centre under the aegis of the British arms. The debased and guilty conduct of the British representative, productive as it was of bitter revulsion, inflamed the sentiments of the whole Muslim nation. Every Muslim, from the Quaid-e-Azam to the smallest and most little man in his hut, flew a black flag from his housetop, in "silent contempt for the Brahman Government"; and millions of the black flags, all over India which greeted the new regime, emphasised "the differences between Brahman and Muslim neighbours."

Conspiracy to Crush League

The conspirators then sought to draw a veil over their guilt by an attempt to divert the public attention into other channels. They excited riots, murders and massacres of the Muslims surpassing in magnitude anything previously known in the modern history, and spared no means and terror to frighten away the people from the

Muslim League. Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker, who saw these horrors and whose task it was to assuage them, has given a graphic description of the last tragic months of British rule in India, in his very informative book: *While Memory Serves.* The three chapters, "The Great Calcutta Killing" (August 1946), "The Butchery of Muslims in Bihar" (October-November 1946), and "The Garmukteswar Massacre" (November 1946), reveal the full horror of what happened in those days. He relates:

> "During October and November, in Bihar. . . .great mobs of Hindus turned suddenly, but with every preparation for the deed, upon the few Muslims who had lived and whose forefathers had lived, in amity and trust all their lives, among these very Hindu neighbours. . . .The number of Muslim dead men, women, and children, in this short, savage killing was about seven thousand to eight thousand. In the United Provinces even pregnant women were ripped up, their unborn babies torn out and the infants' brains dashed out on walls and on the grounds. There was rape, and women and children were seized by the legs by burly fiends and torn apart. . . ."

The League sustained the shocks with patience and prudence. The ghastly murders and riots, instead of disengaging the Muslims from the Muslim League, every day increased the number of its members who now revered Jinnah as the defender of the faith and the nation. Pakistan appeared to be the only refuge of the Indian Muslim. The greater the oppression, the greater became the enthusiasm to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of Pakistan. Rising to the occasion, the Quaid-e-Azam said with determination: "I am confident that nothing is going to shake or frighten us. We shall march on, face all obstacles and march through fire, trials and tribulations." No Muslim within or outside the Central Legislature, of any weight or influence, could be tempted with the office of a Central Minister. In the India-wide search, only two black sheep, namely Sayyid Ali Zahir from Lucknow and Sir Shifaat Ahmad from Allahabad, could be seduced to take seats in the show-window. The death of a traitor is more useful to his nation than his life. Of these illustrious "show-boys" Sir Shifaat was stabbed and the other could not move but under the clouds of shame and shadow of death.

League's Entry into the Cabinet

Early in October, as a result of further discussions between Jinnah and the Viceroy, the Muslim League, after a prudent hesitation, decided to join the Interim Government. Undoubtedly, it was a decision which distress alone could extort from the oppressed. On October 13, the Interim Government was reconstituted to admit five League nominees. The obvious idea behind this decision was to prevent, if possible, the mischief flowing from the Brahman domination; but relief was accidental and an unforgettable wrong

perhaps had already been inflicted.

The British short-term plan, which drew the Congress and the League in the Central Cabinet, miserably failed as had been expected. Both the sides continually charged each other and an impossible situation soon emerged in which neither party desired to continue the artificial partnership, yet neither was willing to resign. The Congress, in spite of its loud protestations, hung on to bluff the League out of office; but the recent experience had made the League too cautious to be deceived. The Brahman's manoeuvres failed in ousting the League from the office, but fully succeeded in engaging to his (Brahman's) cause, the fresh allegiance of the "mediating" Viceroy who was persuaded to summon the session of the "Constituent Assembly" which under the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan was to frame the Constitution of the projected Union of India.

Brahman's Manoeuvring

By the end of July, the elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Mission's Scheme were almost complete for the 296 seats assigned to the representatives of the British Indian provinces. The method of electing the 93 representatives of the Indian States had yet to be decided. The Congress secured 205 out of 209 seats reserved for the Brahmanic people; the Muslim League won all but one of the 79 seats allotted to Muslims. The Sikhs first declared a boycott of the elections owing to their dissatisfaction with the Mission's Plan. But, on receiving an inspiration from the Brahman, later on, they retraced their footsteps and returned their four representatives. They frankly attributed this change in their policy to an assurance from, and to a resolution of, the Congress Working Committee whereby the Congress recognised that the Mission's proposals were unjust to the Sikhs and promised to support them in securing competent safeguards for their protection.

The League had majority in Sections B and C. In the former, consisting of the representatives of Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan and the North-Western Province, the Muslim League had a majority of 22 against 13; in Section C (Bengal and Assam), the League held 36 seats, Congress 31 and Independents 3. The formation of two Muslim zones was, thus, a foregone conclusion.

The Congress was predominant with 205 seats in Section A, i.e. the Full Constituent Assembly. Brahman Nehru made it clear at the very outset that he would exploit this advantage. On July 10, he said that the Constituent Assembly would be a sovereign body despite the Mission's two express provisos, and forecast that there was a "Big probability" that there would "be no grouping" when the Union of India was formed. Assam, he declared, would not tolerate grouping in any circumstances whatever. Similarly, the N.-W.F.P. and Sind would, he said, refuse to group themselves with the Punjab. He threatened to deprive Muslims of the chief benefits promised to

them in the Mission's Plan—the promises Jinnah had accepted, because they offered "the basis and the foundation of Pakistan." Soon afterwards, the Brahman got passed by the Assam Provincial Legislative Assembly (which had a Congress majority) a resolution directing its representatives in the Constituent Assembly not to go into the Section with Bengal—as was provided in the Mission's Plan—and not to cooperate with any other province in framing Assam's Constitution. The Congress filibusters filled the atmosphere with arguments and words, peculiarly characteristic of the Brahman, to undo the benefits reserved for the non-Brahmans in the Mission's Plan.

But League's vigilance and penetration, courage and resolution disconcerted the Brahman's fond hopes. Jinnah at once protested that Nehru had "made it quite clear" that Congress was "not going to honour any of the terms of the long-term plan," and that they were entering the Constituent Assembly only "to use it as a platform for their propaganda, in "utter disregard" of the "rights and obligations" of the other peoples who had agreed to the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The Congress also devised new interpretations and arguments on the Scheme; it proposed that the full Constituent Assembly should first draw up the Union Constitution, after which the representatives of the Provinces might form "Groups" to decide the Provincial Constitutions for their Group and, if they wished, a Group Constitution. The League, on the other hand, emphasised that the first step according to the Mission's Scheme was the grouping of the six "Pakistan" Provinces for whom a separate constitution-making body would frame Group and Provincial Constitutions. Only thereafter would this Constitution-making body join with its counterpart for the "Brahman-ridden Provinces" in order to determine the Union constitution.

The mischief contemplated and the injury designed under the new interpretations were obvious. The Brahman's game was to outvote the League by his numerical majority and capture the House with Wavell's support.

Wavell's Support

The Brahman was fortunate to have a faithful ally in Wavell to support his cause. So intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the Congress and the whispers of the Viceregal Lodge that the Brahman was fully assured of the Indian Empire. Wavell supported the Brahman's interpretations on the Cabinet Mission's Plan and endorsed the Congress claim that the Provinces had the right to opt out of Groups B and C. He also summoned the meeting of the Constituent Assembly on December 9, 1946. The Muslim League argued and appealed for its adjournment but all to no avail. Meanwhile the British Cabinet, in their statement issued on December 6, confirmed that the grouping, as envisaged

in Sections B and C, was compulsory and was not as the Congress interpreted and that decisions in the Sections, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, were to be taken by simple majority votes. But Wavell's prejudice remained unmoved; he sacrificed the duties of the father of a country to that of installing the Brahman on the high pedestal of the Constituent Assembly. The "Grand Show" was put up on December 9; and while Wavell and the Brahman trampled on the prostrate minorities, they varnished their proceedings with the fairest colours of equity and justice. However, the total absence of Muslim members rendered the performance into a "Prodigy of Art or a Variety Show" and sounded "the assembly debates hollow and its decisions unreal." All the resolutions adopted were denounced by the Muslim League as "*ultra vires*, invalid and unbinding."

Meanwhile "London talks" came to relieve the stress of the hard situation. The British Cabinet invited to London the Brahman Nehru, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, each with a party colleague, and also the Sikh leader Baldev Singh, for further discussions and clarifications of their original scheme of Provincial Grouping given in the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, 1946.

Riots

The rapacity and pride of the Brahman refused even a modest accommodation and wrecked the London talks. The Congress on the Brahman's return openly demanded either the immediate entry of the Muslim League into the Constituent Assembly or its resignation from the Interim Government. The League in reply demanded scrapping of the Constituent Assembly and ousting of the Brahman from the Interim Government as the Congress had wrecked, instead of working, the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Brahman spurred up the communal feelings to overawe the League and soon forces were let loose among the masses which could not be controlled; and blood-letting, killing, torture, abduction, rape—all the horrors of civil war—occurred on an unprecedented scale.

Partial Failure of the Wavell-Brahman Conspiracy

The worst affected area was the Punjab. The Brahman-controlled Tiwana Ministry banned on January 24, 1947, the Muslim League National Guards and thus attempted to frighten and disengage the people from the League organisation and bury Pakistan in its very home, the Punjab. But their calculations were mistaken. The Provincial League was no longer a weakling; it took up the challenge, proclaimed a campaign of "non-violence" and of "courting of arrest." Rich and poor, peace-loving peasants and windy politicians, busy merchants and hardworking labourers all alike rushed in response to the national call, to court arrests; within a few days many thousands were interned and externed and hundreds were put in the concentration camps or what were known as "the dark prisons." But nothing could deflect the masses from the Muslim League.

Neither the brute aggression could arrest the progress of the movement nor subtle diplomacy or trickery of Jenkins (Governor of the Punjab) who signalised his attachment, whether for private interest or policy, to the cause of the Brahman, could stem the rising tide. The Government prestige disappeared, administration collapsed, and repression failed. The progress and success of the movement stunned the evil-disposed Punjab Governor, frustrated the expectations of the Viceroy and the Brahman and fully exposed to the public eyes the invidious and debased conduct of the agents of the British Imperialism.

The Tiwana Ministry, which owed its existence not to its own strength but to the Wavell-Congress efforts, could not face the irresistible momentum of the movement and fell with utter disgrace. The vicious conduct of Wavell slashed Britain's prestige all over, and also determined his reproachful career. The Viceroy was recalled with disgrace to seek a premature grave in remorse and shame. Wavell is dead but his perfidy lives to upbraid his memory. The fate of the Constituent Assembly was also sealed on February 20, 1947, when the British Prime Minister Attlee announced that the Constituent Assembly was not fully representative according to the Cabinet Mission's Plan, and hence it could not function.

Khizar Ministry resigned on March 2, 1947. Democracy and fairness to the constitution demanded that the party commanding majority of votes in the Assembly should have been summoned to form a new Ministry. But, for the simple reason that the majority party was the Muslim League Party, Jenkins, the custodian of the constitution, instead, threw to the winds all scruples, and took up the government into his own hands. He was determined to punish the obstinate resistance of the Punjab Musalman which had successfully brought about the collapse of Khizar Ministry. Massacre of Muslims all over the province was planned; large-scale preparations were made; the Sikhs and the Brahmans were armed and equipped with arms and armaments; and on March 4, the blood-thirsty hounds pounced upon the defenceless population. Mr. Sachar, the Provincial Congress leader, addressing the public gathering before the Punjab Assembly Chamber, called upon the Brahmanic people and the Sikhs to unsheathe their sword to "overthrow" Muslims; while Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader, brandishing his sword on the steps of the same Assembly Chamber, exhorted his followers to "vanquish the Muslims." "Conquer the Punjab by sword," he said, "and establish the raj of Khalsa." To the pleasure of Jenkins, the flourishing towns of Amritsar, Lahore and Multan went up in flames; the life of the capital, Lahore, came to a standstill and the roving armed bands in the country-side spread devastation and havoc. But there was no tribunal which could punish Sachar or Tara Singh who had inflamed the disorders and the

governor for his unforgivable crime of partnership. However, the high morale of the Muslims rose up to the occasion and foiled the mischief. More than the Muslims, it were the Brahmans and the Sikhs who suffered.

A Change

In his famous declaration made on February 20, 1947, in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee referred to the differences among the Indian parties which were preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should function. It was of the essence of the Plan that "the Assembly should be fully representative." "His Majesty's Government desire," he announced, "to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's Plan. But unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge. The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948." The British Prime Minister further said that the British would transfer their power, either "as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing provincial governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people."

Mr. Attlee also announced the appointment of Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten as the last Viceroy, "entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands the responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India."

Eyes now turned to the new horizon set by the British Prime Minister's declaration and the scene of Indian politics centred round the personality of Lord Mountbatten.

The Mediator

Mountbatten was a cavalier, a sailor and is said to be an amalgam of minor royalty. As Supreme Commander of South-East Asia, he enjoyed a pride, though unfounded, of victory over the Japanese. The wish to rule, it is said, seldom dies in "royal" persons; nothing could therefore be more pleasant than the prospect of his new appointment and of being entrusted with a mighty political power which his cousin on the throne could never dream. He had already had contacts in India. In 1945, when Nehru visited Singapore, Mountbatten was there to receive and entertain the guest.[1] The

1. "Towards the end of his time in South-east Asia Command, Mountbatten had his first meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru, on the occasion of Nehru's visit to Malaya, at the suggestion of Lord Wavell, to see the large Indian minority there. It was a most successful and happy encounter. I was present on the occasion of it, and it was quite clear that the two men made a deep personal impression upon each other." (*Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 30.)

illustrious scion of the Imperial family had himself taken the wheel and driven the car for the Brahman to show him round.

Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1947. The first politician he received was Brahman Nehru. The artful Brahman flattered the vanity of the royal sailor, seized the unguarded moments to poison the Viceroy's mind and by the arms of deceit and cunning converted the mediator into a "partisan." Before Nehru left, the new Viceroy pledged; "Mr. Nehru, I want you to regard me not the last Viceroy winding up the British Raj, but as the first to lead the way to a new India."[1] The Brahman Press lavished the homages of praises and raised him to the stature of an Aryan God. At the same time every avenue of the Viceroy's House was assaulted with gold and, under the decent names of "presents" and "gifts," the dignitaries were bribed according to the measure of their rapaciousness. The attachment of Lady Mountbatten to the Brahman, which has attracted the world's notice, overleaped the bounds of modesty and caution and has deserved her the name and honours of a Brahman goddess except that, instead of the votary moving to the feet of the goddess for offering an annual tribute, the goddess moves to the votary. If she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither hears nor regards the reproaches of mankind. But the hero of South Asia Command alone was and is perhaps ignorant of great events.[2]

As against this the League had hardly sufficient resources or funds to sustain itself. Any offer of "Presents" on its part was out of question. The resulting influence was obvious.

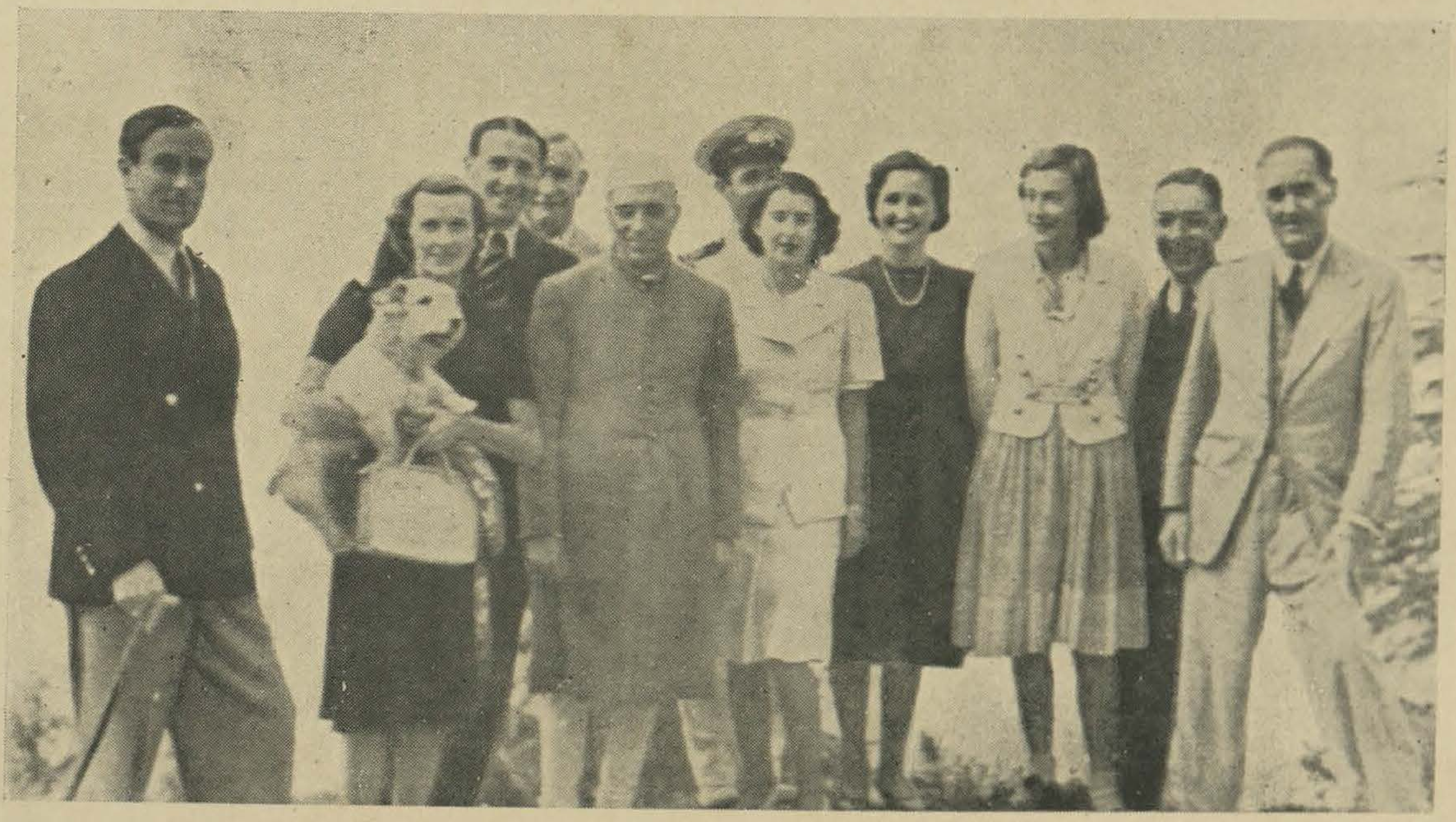
The Tussle

The reproachful breach of faith and of the "plighted word," which stained Wavell and the Cabinet Mission with treachery, had undoubtedly mortified the Muslim League and injured its cause beyond measure and exalted the Congress supreme on the saddle of the Interim Government. Under the helpless situation League patiently endured the affront, and was obliged, later on, to enter the Interim Government on the terms offered by the Viceroy. Encouraged by the invaluable attachment of Wavell, the Brahman and his Congress were genuinely expecting that the Muslim League would soon retrace its footsteps of bycotting the Constituent Assembly-and join its deliberations. E. W. R. Lumby in his book, *The Transfer of*

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1. *Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 45.

2. "What Muslims think of him needs no repetition; and his own one-time publicity-man called something or other Campbell-Johnson whom he brought along with him to Delhi and who has since produced profitable printed merchandise in the form of a book full of half truths and not a few untruths, has himself disclosed the inner working of Mountbatten's mind in those eventful days which confirm the view that he was in secret collusion with Mr. Nehru and his Congress. And not for nothing does his Lordship's noble spouse still pay an average of two visits per year to the shrine of that "young god" as Mr. Nehru once called himself." (*Dawn*, February 19, 1956.)



Off Duty, Mashobra, Simla, 9th May, 1947. "The Mountbattens fell in love with the place, and are quite determined to come back again. During our walk up and down the orchard terraces Nehru was very agile, and confessed to a liking for hill-climbing." Included in this photograph, left to right, are Lord and Lady Mountbatten, Alan Campbell-Johnson (author: *Mission with Mountbatten*), Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Campbell-Johnson, Mrs. Nicholls, the Hon. Pamela Mountbatten, Mr. Britter and Colonel Douglas Currie. (From: *Mission with Mountbatten*).

Power in India, has very correctly observed: "As in 1942, when the belief that British power was about to crumble before the Japanese advance had encouraged Congress in its intransigence towards the Cripps' Offer, so now its under-estimate of the strength of Muslim feeling led it to suppose that its supremacy was unassailable and so to make the tragic error of over-playing its hand." The Congress devised its own interpretations of the Cabinet Mission's proposals—interpretations totally different from and antagonist to those of the Mission. League's appeal for postponement of the opening session of the Constituent Assembly was ignored. The Constituent Assembly was "opened in a characteristic Brahmanic outlook" on December 9, 1946, and Rajindra Prasad, then a Congress member of the Interim Government, was elected as its permanent President. Regardless of the limitations contained in the Mission's proposals, a Committee on rules of procedure, with power to frame rules not only for the full Constituent Assembly but also for Sections B and C and other Committees, was formed by the brute majority with Dr. Ambedkar as the only dissentient. The turbulent Congress oracles proudly roared that time had reached for magnificent fruition of the long-sought Brahman Imperialism. On December 13, Brahman Nehru, with the ostentations of a hero or a conqueror, moved the celebrated "Objectives Resolution." The Session was then adjourned to January 20, 1947. In the meantime members of Sections B and C were incited not to enter into the Sections. Gandhi at this time wandered, prayed and fasted in East Bengal; but the fresh tumult of politics disturbed his peace and the political hermit at once reached Delhi. Throwing the immense weight of his influence, "the Mahatma" also advised the representatives of Assam and the Sikhs in the Constituent Assembly to refuse to go into the Sections at all. On January 5, 1947, the Congress haughtily declared by a resolution: "The 'All-India Congress Committee' realise and appreciate the difficulties placed in the way of some Provinces, notably Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's Scheme of May 16, 1946, and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in the Statement of December 6, 1946. Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned, a principle which the British Government have themselves recognised. It must be clearly understood, however, that this (viz. the procedure in the Sections in conformity with the December 6 statement) must not involve any compulsion on a Province, and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, the Province or part of a Province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned." As a result, both Assam and Sikhs became defiant. But all those clever and nerve-racking tactics failed to

terrorise the League into surrender. The Constituent Assembly met again on January 20, but there was no sign that the League representatives would participate. Brahman Nehru, winding up the debate on his "Objectives Resolution," thundered amidst great chagrin that though the Assembly would welcome the League representatives at any time, "no work will be held up in future whether anyone comes or not."

The Working Committee of the Muslim League, which met on January 31, characterised the above resolution of the All-India Congress Committee as "a dishonest trick and jugglery of words by which Congress has again attempted to deceive the British Government, Muslim League and public opinion in general." It declared that the "Objectives" resolution, being beyond the Statement of May 16, was "illegal, *ultra vires* and not competent for the Constituent Assembly to adopt." The Working Committee concluded that the Congress had "destroyed all the fundamentals of the Plan and every possibility of compromise on that basis." The Committee therefore asked the British Government to declare failure of the Mission's Plan and to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. League's plain-speaking provoked the Brahman to extreme aggressiveness. The Congress peremptorily demanded withdrawal of the League members from the Interim Government. Sirdar Patel, on February 15, declared at a Press interview that the Congress members had asked the British Government to require the League "either to share in drafting the new constitution or to leave the 'Cabinet'; otherwise the Congress members would themselves resign." But Congress members did not resign though League yielded to none of the Congress demands. Amidst this atmosphere came, on February 20, the above-mentioned Declaration from the British Prime Minister, fixing June 1948 as the dead-line for transfer of power from British hands to those of the Indians. The Congress Working Committee met in the beginning of March and welcomed the fixing of a date for final transfer of power, but urged that the transfer should be preceded by the recognition in practice of the Interim Government as a Dominion Government with effective control over services and administration and with the Viceroy as its constitutional head. They emphasised that the Interim Government must necessarily function as a Cabinet with full authority and responsibility. The resolution of the Congress Committee further emphasised that it had now become all the more essential to expedite the work of the Constituent Assembly so that a constitution for an Indian Union and its constituent units should be finally prepared and given effect to well within the stated period. The wolf invited afresh the representatives of the Muslim League to join in its "historic" undertaking. "The Assembly's work," the resolution continued, "was essentially voluntary, involving no compulsion. While it had been made clear that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly would apply only

to those areas which accepted it, it must be understood that any Province or part of a Province which accepted the constitution and desired to join the Union could not be prevented from doing so. Thus there must be no compulsion either way, and the people would themselves decide their own future." The Brahman showered India with words and sermons, hoping to frustrate the Muslim will.

The Congress meanwhile had also inspired country-wide riots to destroy the League or force it to join the Brahman-ridden Constituent Assembly. There was a lot of bloodshed and an enormous loss of life and property; but all in vain. The Calcutta riots failed to shake the League Ministry in Bengal. The riots of Bihar, Garmuktessar and other places, instead of harming, only served to advance the League's cause. In the Punjab, the situation had become worse. By the collapse of Khizar Ministry, the Brahman had lost direct control over the Province, though through Viceroy's support he managed to keep the League, the largest party, out of office as the Governor Jenkins took the administration into his own hands.

In the North-West Frontier Province the affairs had been going much the same way as in the Punjab. The Congress supremacy had been vigorously and effectively undermined by reports of massacres of Muslims by "Hindus" in Bihar and elsewhere. Slowly the influence of the League spread and its appeal was effectively heard not only within the Province itself but also among the tribes beyond its boundaries, between British India proper and Afghanistan. The tribes were largely independent, and were bound only by agreements to the Government of India. In October, Brahman Nehru, in his capacity as Member for External Affairs, visited the Frontier; his presence and the naked authority he assumed offended the pride of the Frontier people. In Peshawar, there were League demonstrations on his arrival; while the tribesmen received him officially with unfriendly speeches and professions of faith in Jinnah and unofficially with stones and bullets. The visit of the illustrious Brahman, instead of furthering its cause, hit the Congress beyond recovery in the Frontier province. In the words of Wilfred Russell, "the vote-catching power of Congress money melted away before the fire of Islam."[1] In February 1947, the Frontier Muslim League launched a civil disobedience movement on the Punjab model against the Provincial Government's ban on meetings and processions. Soon the movement spread from Peshawar to other towns and districts. And when Sir Khizar resigned in the Punjab, the Frontier League leaders called upon Dr. Khan Sahib, the Congress Premier, to follow suit; but Dr. Khan Sahib refused to do so. The agitation for his overthrow grew more and more serious and by the middle of April the "movement threatened to get completely out of hand." The alarming news caused uneasiness in the Viceregal Lodge which

1. *Indian Summer*, p. 77.

resulted in a conference held on April 18 of those concerned with frontier policy, including the Brahman Nehru, as the Minister of External Affairs, the Governor and Premier of the Frontier Province. After secret discussions, Dr. Khan Sahib, on his return to Peshawar the next day, announced an amnesty under which political prisoners were to be released and the ban on public meetings was withdrawn. But the prisoners refused to leave the jails unless they were assured that fresh elections would be held, since the Frontier Muslim League maintained that the Congress ministry had no right to be in office as it had completely forfeited the confidence of the province. The prisoners had not gone to jail, said Jinnah, "merely to be released." At the end of April the Viceroy himself paid a visit to the affected province to save, if he could, the Congress ministry; but all efforts failed to mend the matters or put an end to the civil disobedience campaign.

In Assam too a similar movement started to overthrow the unjust domination of the Congress and soon the provincial Government was fixed in a deluge of embarrassment.

New Horizon

Long before February 20 the fundamental question in Indian politics had been "not when would the British hand over power, but to whom." The Brahman by now had lost from his grips the Punjab and the N.-W.F.P. and Assam was on its way to slipping out. All his expectations and hopes that the League would be obliged to join the Constituent Assembly were frustrated. His dreams of "all-India" Brahmanic imperialism appeared tottering and vanishing. According to the Statement of February 20, if on the appointed date there was no single central government for the whole of British India, power might be handed over "in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian peoples." The Brahman now re-read this statement and saw, to his chagrin, that the six provinces of the Punjab, the N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam were slipping out of his hands and going to the Muslim League. With the realisation of this new development, the shrewd Brahman at once changed his *modus operandi*; he agreed, by words, to accept the League's demand of Pakistan, i.e. of freedom and security of the Muslim homelands from the Brahmanic domination, commonly known as "Partition of India; but put up terms which would either wipe out the League's demand or partition Pakistan instead of partitioning India. "The Muslim League can have Pakistan if they want it," said Brahman Nehru indignantly, "but on the condition that they do not take away other parts of India which do not wish to join Pakistan." When the Constituent Assembly met for the third time, on April 28, the President, Dr. Rajindra Prasad, spoke: "While we have accepted the Cabinet Mission's

Statement of May 16, 1946, which contemplates a Union of the different Provinces and States within the country, it may be that the Union may not comprise all Provinces. If that unfortunately comes to pass, we shall have to be content with a constitution for part of it. This may mean not only the division of India, but the division of some of the Provinces. For this we must be prepared and the Assembly may have to draw up a constitution based on such a division." The artful Brahman incited the Sikhs to claim for an independent "Sikhistan" in the Punjab as their homeland and proposed an insidious demand of "Self-determination" for the N.-W.F.P. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, minorities had been given representation in the provincial legislative assemblies in excess of their proportionate strengths in the provincial population. As a result, Muslims were under-represented in relation to their population strengths both in the Punjab and Bengal. In Bengal they formed 55% of the population, but the seats reserved for them in the Bengal Legislative Assembly were only 46·8%. In the Punjab, their population was 57·7%, but the seats reserved for them in the Punjab Legislative Assembly were 48%. The Brahman, trusting that his arts and treasures could purchase some black sheep and expecting that League might not get majority votes in the Legislative Assemblies of the Punjab and Bengal, for Pakistan, demanded that the Legislative Assemblies of these provinces should give a verdict whether or not they should join a new Pakistan Constituent Assembly; that thereafter in, case the result would be in favour of Pakistan, each of the Legislative Assemblies should divide itself in two parts—one representing the non-Muslim majority areas and the other representing the Muslim majority areas; that each of the parts should decide if it was in favour of partition of the province; and that in case of a vote of either part in favour of partition, the province must be partitioned. It was obvious and definite that the partition of the two provinces would mean that East Punjab and West Bengal would throw in their lot with Brahman India and not with Pakistan. Either way the Brahman was to gain. It was a very subtle and cunning move to torpedo "Pakistan."

Partition of Pakistan

The population of the Brahmanic people in Bengal and the Punjab was as follows [as per Census of 1941 (in thousands]:

BENGAL

Brahmanic people or Hindus other than Scheduled Castes		=17,680 or 40%
Other population:	Muslims	=33,005
	Scheduled Castes	= 7,379
	Christians	= 166

PUNJAB

Brahmanic people		=	6,302 or 22%
Other population	Muslims	=	16,217
	Scheduled Castes	=	1,249
	Christians	=	505
	Sikhs	=	3,757

The Brahman had already secured the attachment, to him, of the man who possessed the decisive voice on the fate of India and now his cunning added a factor of personal interest to fortify that attachment. As a bribe or reward for future services, Mountbatten was nominated to be the first Governor-General of Bharat. It was not easy for a man to remain firm or uninfluenced. The new Ulyssis of Britain, capable of any pretensions and equal to any wickedness, accepted the charge to wreck the dream of Muslim India and assumed the responsibility to settle the Brahman as the sole heir of the British Imperialism.

So far, the provinces of British India with their then existing boundaries had been regarded and accepted as the basic units for all the constitutional plans so far conceived or adopted. The Government of India Act of 1935 had proceeded on those provinces as the units; both the Cripps' Offer and the Cabinet Mission's Plan had recognised those "provinces with their then existing boundaries" as the basic units for "Secession" or "Grouping." But the great destroyer, Mountbatten, committed as he was to the faith of the Brahman, shelved aside that basis and with that all considerations of reason, justice or of equity; and, instead of dividing India, he set himself to destroy or disrupt the Muslim homelands, tear up Pakistan and destroy its self-sufficiency. The scheduled castes and Christians threw their lot with Muslims and expressed themselves in favour of Pakistan. But the Muslim League had no treasures to bribe, arms to resist and language to reach the understanding of the "Disrupter." Persuasion is the resource of the weak; and the weak can seldom persuade. New mischiefs under new pretences were devised. On June 3, 1947, with sword in hand, Mountbatten pronounced his "scandalous sentence" of destruction or partition of Pakistan. His edict stated:

> "It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on His Majesty's Government.
>
> "It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence

> of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their constitution is to be framed (*a*) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or (*b*) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly. When this has been done it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

In order to ascertain the views of such areas as to whether they wanted a new Constituent Assembly or not, the following procedure was laid down: The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province.

> "The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, partition will take place and arrangements would be made accordingly."

The Legislative Assembly of Sind was to take its own decision at a special meeting. A decision by referendum was provided for in the case of the North-Western Frontier Province. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet was to decide by a referendum whether it would join East Bengal or remain in Assam.

> "If in either part of the Legislative Assembly the verdict went in favour of partition, the province would be provisionally divided by the Viceroy on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim majority districts. Thereafter the Viceroy would appoint a Boundary Commission, whose membership and terms of reference would be settled in consultation with those concerned, to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Province on the basis of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, but also taking into account other factors."

The vain colours and decorations, titles and trophies of the victories and exploits of Mountbatten will crumble into dust, but the name of the perfidious vivisector of Muslim homelands is inscribed in the everlasting monument of June 3. A more unjust plan could not be designed. While the sceptre was bequeathed to the Brahman,

the Muslim India was left with the only choice to accept either the chains of the Brahmanic imperialism or a crippled Pakistan. No doubt, it was a great victory for the Brahman; and the victory was celebrated by great illuminations and songs, and Lord and Lady Mountbatten were saluted as the heroes of the great achievement.[1]

Partition Operations on Pakistan

By the end of June, the procedure for deciding on the unity or partition of Bengal and the Punjab had been worked out, and in each case it had resulted in a decision in favour of "partition." In Bengal, the Congress members asked for a preliminary vote of the whole Legislative Assembly on which of the Constituent Assemblies the Province should join if it decided to remain united. One hundred and twenty-six members voted to join a new Pakistan Constituent Assembly against 90 in favour of joining the existing one. Thereafter the Assembly divided into two parts; the one representing the non-Muslim majority areas decided by 58 votes to 21; that the Province should be partitioned. The other part, representing the Muslim majority areas, voted to remain united by 106 to 35. Under the Plan a vote of either part in favour of partition meant partition of the Province. Bengal therefore was doomed to the operation of partition. In the Punjab the whole Assembly voted by 91 to 77 to join a new Pakistan Constituent Assembly; then the members from the Muslim majority areas of the Western Punjab gave verdict against partition by 69 votes to 27; but partition was made certain when the members from the "non-Muslim majority areas of the East decided in favour of division by 50 votes to 22.

The Sind Legislative Assembly registered its decision for Pakistan on June 26 by 33 votes to 20, the minority consisting of Congressmen and some "Muslim black sheep" or traitors. For British Baluchistan the crucial vote was taken at a join meeting of the Shahi Jirga—a council of tribal chiefs and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality. The result was a unanimous vote in favour of Pakistan.

The referendum in the Sylhet District of Assam, held early in July, resulted in 239,619 votes for joining East Bengal against 184,041 for remaining in Assam.

The North-West Frontier Province was the last area to record its decision. British officers of the Indian Army with experience of the Frontier were appointed to conduct the referendum, under the Referendum Commissioner, Brigadier J. R. Booth. The referendum was held from July 6 to 17, and resulted in 289,244 votes for joining Pakistan against 2,874 for remaining in India.

The Christians and scheduled castes of the Punjab declared themselves in favour of Pakistan and submitted their representation

1. The Mountbatten's drive home was only the second of several tumultuous rides during the day, and all the way back to Government House the cries of "Jai Hind" were mixed with "Mountbatten Ki Jai" and "Pandit Mountbatten"! (*Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 159.)



Crowded Carriage, New Delhi, 15th August, 1947. "The Mountbattens' return journey (from the flag hoisting) to Government House was the final triumph of friendly informality. Nehru was unable to get back to his car, so Mountbatten pulled him into the State carriage where he sat on the hood . . . and joined the party, helping to swell the numbers in the carriage to twelve—shades of Curzon and his Durbar!" This photograph shows the carriage on arrival at the forecourt of Government House. (From: *Mission with Mountbatten*).

to that effect to the Viceroy. While the Sikhs could not even point to a single district of the Punjab where they were in majority. But while "fairness" and "impartiality" were on his lips, "mischief" and "partisanship" were in his heart; the base and implacable prejudice of Mountbatten turned down all demands of justice and of "the faint scruples of conscience." In spite of such preponderant numerical strength of the population in favour of Pakistan, the dishonest Viceroy struck his dividing spear at Amritsar, the heart of the Punjab, linked it with India, decreed the dividing or boundary line to pass beyond the borders of Amritsar District, and thus forcibly snatched away 40% of the area of the Punjab from this Muslim homeland.

According to the census report of 1941, the population of the various communities in the Amritsar District was as under:

Brahmanic people	12 %	
Muslims	46·7%	
Scheduled Castes	2·8%	52·4%
Christians	2·9%	
Sikhs	35 %	

The Brahmanic Viceroy

What justification, except the design to hit Pakistan, could he have for annexation of this district with India? Could this partitioning of the Punjab benefit the Sikhs? On the contrary, it cut them into two halves and rendered them into a more miserable position. Nor was this district permitted the right of "self-determination" or "referendum" as was done in Assam or the N.-W.F.P. None can absolve the "colourful sailor" from the reproach of "perfidy" and "guilt of partisanship" and "dishonest abuse of his authority." Not without a meaning, the political hermit (Gandhi) had said: "The sole referee of what is or is not with interests of India as a whole will be Mountbatten in his personal capacity." Mountbatten gerrymandered the partition, put every conceivable handicap in Pakistan's way to leave her crippled from birth; he created the Kashmir problem by rigging the Punjab Boundary Award so that India was provided with the argument as well as the advantages of an artificial contiguity with Kashmir; he retained the supreme command of the armed forces and enabled the Brahman to occupy Kashmir, rape Junagadh and Hyderabad, and swallow Travancore, Tripura, Sikkim and Bhutan. Mr. Ian Stephens, Editor of *The Statesman*, writes in his book, *Horned Moon*, that after partition of the country he dined with "the Mountbattens" and was "startled by their one-sided verdicts on affairs." This was in October 1947, when the "developing drama in Kashmir was moving towards the Maharaja's accession to India." Mr. Stephens writes that Lord and Lady Mountbatten seemed to have "become wholly pro-Hindu. The atmosphere at Government House that night was almost one of

war. Pakistan, the Muslim League, and Mr. Jinnah were the enemy...."

On July 18, 1947, the Indian Independence Act of 1947, a great landmark in the Anglo-Indian relations, received the Royal assent, to give effect to the Mountbatten plan of vivisection of Muslim homelands. This Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two Dominions of India and Pakistan from the appointed day (15th August, 1947). The Act also provided for (1) the legislative supremacy of the two Dominions. (2) The Legislatures of the two Dominions were given full powers to make laws having extra-territorial jurisdiction. (3) The British Government was to have no control over the affairs of the Dominions, Provinces or any part of the Dominions after 15th August, 1947. (4) The Act terminated British authority over India, set up two independent Dominions, each with full authority to make any constitution it pleased. Both the Dominions were given full powers and rights to leave the British Commonwealth of Nations if they so pleased.

On August 14, Mountbatten flew to Karachi and addressed the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. A simple ceremony marked the formal transfer of power from Britain to the peoples of Pakistan, and there came into existence the new state of Pakistan—maimed and its dripping blood relating the melancholy tale of the perfidy of Mountbatten—the "Great Mediator."

Meanwhile the Brahmanic Mountbatten, anxious to strangle the new state before it could gain a footing or stability, had put into operation those of his vicious and vigorous plans which will ever rise to impeach and condemn their author. His plans worked among others in three shapes:

(*i*) Radcliffe Award.

(*ii*) Uprooting of 80 million Muslims of the East Punjab and the bordering native states.

(*iii*) Rape of Junagadh, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Travancore, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tripura.

Radcliffe's Treachery

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, K.C., had been appointed as the sole arbitrator to draw the boundary line for dividing the Punjab and Bengal between the Musalman and the Brahman. On his arrival on July 8, the arbitrator acknowledged with great fanfare the sacred nature of the trust reposed in him and the sanctity of his obligation and loudly held out a solemn assurance to discharge his duty faithfully and honestly. But the whisper that a brother had been appointed the first Governor-General of Bharat and the rich "presents" that the Brahmanic people produced, soon relaxed his scruples and obliged him to confess that private interest was the Supreme Law. It was regarded a heinous crime, against the British nation, of the Muslim League to have refused to appoint an Englishman as the Governor-General of Pakistan. Radcliffe's hypocrisy too surpassed limits.

"Fairness" and "impartiality" were on his lips, while "prejudice" and "partiality" swayed his heart. Shamelessly, he betrayed his "plighted word," betrayed his high office and betrayed the Muslim India. In consultation with Mountbatten, the partial arbitrator sliced away further areas from Pakistan and handed them over to the Brahman. As for an illustration, in GURDASPUR DISTRICT, the distribution of population was as follows (1941 Census Report):

Brahmanic people	19·2 %	40·3%
Sikhs	21·1 %	
Muslims	51·2 %	59·6%
Indian Christians	4·4 %	
Scheduled Castes (Non-Hindus)	4·0 %	

In particular in the tehsils of Batala and of Gurdaspur of this district, the Muslim population was 70% and their boundaries were contiguous to that of Pakistan. The Christian and the Scheduled Caste people of the district expressed themselves in favour of Pakistan and made representations to that effect both to Mountbatten and the "Hon'ble" Radcliffe. But the expressed wish of the people was turned down; the inherent right of majority was denied; and the debased Viceroy, acting through his instrument, the arbitrator Radcliffe, robbed the Muslim homeland of these fertile regions, tagged them to the apron-strings of the Brahman and thus "fully justified" his new appointment. *Dawn* characterised it as "Rape of the Punjab." Summarising the award, the paper observed:

"An analysis of some relevant facts and figures concerning the Punjab shows that if this 'neutral' Chairman of the Boundary Commission has been unfair to East Bengal he has been even more so to West Punjab. The notional division had done to Punjab the same grave injustice as it had done to Bengal and it was taken for granted that the final delimitation of boundary would make a fairer adjustment. Sir Cyril Radcliffe has done exactly the opposite. His one aim seems to have been to discover how much he could give away from the West to the East, in other words, to what further extent he could still further truncate Pakistan. Out of four tehsils of the Gurdaspur district he has awarded three to East Punjab and he has divided two out of Lahore's three tehsils between the two parts of the Punjab. One has only to look at the population statistics of these five tehsils, community-wise, to understand the gross injustice and the perversity of his decisions.

"In the Gurdaspur tehsil Muslims number 171,488 while Hindus and Sikhs together number 133,674. In the Batala tehsil Muslims are 207,277 while Hindus and Sikhs are 149,846. In the Pathankot tehsil the Muslim majority over the com-

bined Hindu-Sikh total is : 149,600 to 86,800. Coming to the other divided district, Lahore, we find that in the Kasur tehsil Muslims are 237,038 as against 158,037 Hindus and Sikhs; while in the Chunian tehsil the Muslim majority is: 237,829 to 140,110. And yet Sir Cyril Radcliffe has no hesitation in transferring these large tracts of territory in the two districts, representing some 2,300 square miles of most fertile land, from West Punjab to East Punjab.

"However carefully one reads his report one discovers not a shred of argument which may explain this strange decision, this flagrant departure from the basic principle of contiguous majority, this violence to explicit terms of reference. All that Sir Cyril Radcliffe cares to say is that 'after weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the schedule.' What 'other factors' has he weighed? For what reason or reasons did these unmentioned factors appear to him to be so 'relevant' as to justify violence to the fundamental basis of contiguous majority? Sir Cyril Radcliffe is no longer in this country to be encountered and questioned on these points. After having written his report and drawn lines higgledy-piggledy across the map of the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet this "eminent" K.C. has departed the scene of his judicial aberrations. But his sketchy, unconvincing and uncommunicative report remains to mock those who had trusted all their eggs into the single Radcliffe basket.

"To return to our analysis, while on the one hand five Muslim majority tehsils of the notional West are either entirely or in part given away to East in spite of their Muslim majorities, not a single tehsil or part of tehsil containing heavy Muslim majorities and satisfying the principle of contiguity is transferred in the reverse show what a monstrous award it is. The Ferozepore tehsil has 160,371 Muslims as against 123,331 Hindus and Sikhs; the Zira tehsil shows a Muslim majority of 137,586 over 69,072 Hindus and Sikhs. In the Amritsar district the Ajnala tehsil has a Muslim population of 130,939 as against 83,401 Hindus and Sikhs. In the Nakodar tehsil of Jullundur district Muslims number 135,918 as against 91,803 Hindus and Sikhs. All these tehsils as well as other areas of varying sizes form a contiguous belt with the Muslim majority areas of Western Punjab. But here, the neutral gentleman from the British Bar refuses to delimit the boundary tehsil-wise. When it was a question of giving territory away from Muslims to non-Muslims, the tehsil became important; when the follow-

ing of the same principle would have resulted in taking certain areas away from East Punjab as notionally divided and giving them to the Muslims, the principle itself was discarded. All that the author of the report has to say is that he had 'hesitated long over these not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej river in which Muslim majorities are found, but *on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities.*'

"The italics are ours and the words we have so printed speak volumes of the mentality and the inconsistency of the man who was called out as an expert to settle such an important territorial issue in this sub-continent. Can anyone explain what Sir Cyril Radcliffe means by "on the whole"? Can anyone even guess what were the more weighty reasons in favour of consigning the admitted Muslim majorities to Hindustan, which cancelled out the less weighty reasons in favour of their being transferred to Pakistan? Sir Cyril Radcliffe merely hints by the words "on the whole" that such a balancing of arguments did take place in his mind, but he has such obvious contempt for the intelligence of the public here that he would not tell them what these reasons for and against might have been. In the Punjab he professes concern for railway and water systems, but in Bengal he does not hesitate to disrupt railway communications and also North Bengal's water system by awarding Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri to West Bengal."[1]

Seldom does history of profane cunning display such scenes of deceit and perfidy on the part of "mediators." A charitable attempt made later, to absolve Radcliffe from the guilt of the heinous betrayal, declared that he had in fact awarded this district (Gurdaspur) and various other areas also to Pakistan, but the "colourful sailor" tampered with the award and changed the boundary line without the knowledge or consent of the arbitrator. If it were so, Radcliffe stands yet more condemnable, and the silence he maintained all along makes him more guilty.

Quite similarly the "cutting" and "crippling" knife was operated upon Bengal and Assam. According to *Dawn*, the award was so unfair as it absolved the Pakistan Government of its prior undertaking to abide by it and added that "even if the Government accepts the territorial murder of Pakistan, people will not." The events of

1. *Dawn*, August 8, 1947.

"Division," in fact, form a painful reading of the cunning partiality with which Pakistan was amputated and the brutal partisanship of Mountbatten and the Brahman with which the Muslim interests were sacrificed. The "Mediator" chipped away 40% of the area of "Muslim homelands," uprooted no less than 20 million Muslims and thus broke the very backbone of Muslim India. Adding further to his "credit," horrible massacres and uprooting of the Muslims of the East Punjab and other parts of India and rape of Kashmir, Junagadh, Manavadar and Hyderabad, speak volumes about Mountbatten's incomparable capacity for betrayal, mischief and vicious doing.

Extermination of Muslim Existence in East Punjab

At the time of partition of the Punjab, the population of the various communities figured in the East Punjab as follows:

Muslims	4,256,516
Sikhs	2,111,176
Brahmanic people	4,267,864

(These figures do not include the 23 lac Muslims living in the states of the East Punjab.)

Obviously, the Brahman was not a majority community in the East Punjab and the chances of his domination in the Provincial Government were slender. On the other side, a coalition between the Sikhs and the Muslims (of the East Punjab) appeared in his eyes, ensuring the establishment of a Sikh provincial state in this region. True to the traditions of his Aryan forefathers who had refused co-existence to and extirpated the Dravidians and Buddhists, the modern Brahman, too, could never tolerate even a petty Sikh provincial regime. Slaughter of Sikhs, however, at that time was not within the Brahman's means; but his anxiety was soon resolved by the foresight of the Great Lord, Lord Mountbatten. The Sikhs would be reduced to a permanent and helpless minority or nonentity, he revealed, if the Muslim existence could be exterminated in the East Punjab. The Brahman gained the wisdom and began to work towards that end. Extermination of such a big mass of population was not easily possible in peace or normal times. The Brahman, therefore, wanted a turmoil and was anxious to maintain irreconcilable estrangement between the Sikhs and Muslims. During his regime under the Khizar Ministry, the Brahman had already created and maintained a turmoil to promote his plans of partitioning the Muslim homeland. He had successfully blinded the Sikhs to the reality of the situation, whispered into their ears the alluring hope of the establishment of a Sikh State in the East Punjab and now seduced them to the belief that Muslims were the only hindrance in the way of the "Khalsa Raj." The deluded Sikhs, confounded by the artful propaganda and false assurances of the Brahman, were unable to analyse and read the situation; they could not see the total impossi-

bility of the establishment of a Sikh State in India and the detriment to their interests, in the step they were being asked to take. The rabid people, enamoured of the deceitful promise of a Sikh State, willingly allowed themselves to be exploited and were used as a tool, for wiping out Muslim population from the East Punjab.

The seeds of an ever-increasing hatred against Muslims had been shrewdly sown among the Sikhs. History had been painted to poison their minds and provoke and harden their temper against Islam. Communal riots were organised and encouraged to add fuel to the fire. Religion was employed to justify the raging storm of resentment and hatred and to stimulate and glorify the atrocities against the followers of Islam. The pulpit, the Press, the temple and the Gurdwara all assaulted with gold and employed to exhort their followers to expiate their sins by the massacre of Muslims. With the announcement of the partition plan, the Sikhs were led to believe that verily the opportunity had approached for "the realisation of their dream and to strike the blow." Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker, the man directly concerned with the affairs of the time, writes:

> "We knew for certain, too, that the Sikh War of revenge was coming, but we expected it after the 15th August, the great day of Independence, rather than before, because by the later date it was certain that the drain on our British officer resources would be weakening the will of the Army to stand firm and impartial against the might of Sikhistan."[1]

As the time, the date of partition came nearer, the Sikhs and the Brahmanic people became more and more impatient for the Muslim blood and, as the partition reached, jeeps loaded with Sikhs and Brahmanic people armed with swords, iron bars, fire-arms and sten-guns with the full cooperation and support of the Brahman Government, raged up a storm of death and destruction. Lt. Gen. Sir Francis writes:

> "*Daily Express* Correspondent, Sydney Smith, had spoken to a Hindu Sub-Inspector of Police who was standing at a street corner of Ludhiana whilst a Sikh mob, aided by Sikh policemen in uniform, attacked Muslim houses and shot Muslims right in front of him. When asked what he intended to do, the reply was, 'We are doing very well. We expect to exterminate every Muslim.'"[2]

He goes on:

> "By about 25th August it was painfully obvious that the officials of the Eastern Punjab were quite prepared to accept a large-scale massacre and exodus of Muslims from that area. The only method they had of stopping this was to

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 356.
2. Ibid., p. 446.

take vigorous offensive action against the Sikhs, and this they were not prepared to do.

"In fact, over wide areas where Sikh jathas ruled supreme, the local civil and police authorities reported that all was under control. The marauding Sikh had destroyed every Muslim village, killed large numbers of Muslims, and harried the columns of refugees until they finally arrived within areas protected by small military garrisons.

"The only area, according to the civil authorities, where matters were out of hand was in the Dasuya (30 miles north of Jullundur) area where a Mulism majority belt had taken in large numbers of refugees and had organised themselves against aggression by Sikh jathas. Here they had produced a varied collection of fire-arms, swords and spears, and the local police (Sikh) had failed to disarm them. This disarming of a Muslim village by the police was prelude to its attack by Sikh jathas. I can vouch for this statement as I saw this at first hand in the village of Dakoha, just outside Jullundur. It was searched by the police one morning and was attacked by the Sikhs a few hours afterwards. Troops in the area fortunately arrived in time to prevent its destruction.

"The Sikhs had gained the ascendancy, and as a large number of officials and police officers were Sikh, it had been a very one-sided affair.

"By this time too we had received large numbers of Muslim refugees from Kapurthala and Patiala territory. From my short contact with the authorities of these States, they were undoubtedly partisan."[1]

A few extracts from the letters published in *While Memory Serves* would give some picture of the happenings after August 14:

To: Major— Eastern Command.	From: Jemadar— On leave in Dist. Jullundur (Punjab). 23 August 1947.

Dear Sir,

....This country has become a battlefield since 16 August. One village attacks the other village and one community to another community. No body could sleep for a week. Villages are being destroyed and thousands killed or wounded. All road paths, Railways and post are totally cut off. It is not easy to go a few yards away from the village. Smokes & fires are seen every where all round my village. An attack is expected today on my village. God knows whether or not this letter will reach you. Every days too many casualties take place in this country. Police sub inspector has even been killed in front of the Police Station. The moment which is passed is ours. No body knows what will happen during future moment. No military or Police help is available any-

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 447.

where. Public is destroying to public.

Your most obedient servant,

Jemadar

To: Major——
Eastern Command.

From: Jemadar————
Dist. Jullundur (Punjab),
27 August, 1947.

Dear Sir,

Further to my last letter I beg to inform you the following:

All villages outside the radius of two miles from my village have been burnt to ashes by Gundas. From the very beginning we are taking the possible defensive measures for my village. Last night alarm signal was rung at about 2230 and we all passed the night awaking.

There are no signs of any military or police aid to restore peace in the country. Every day hundred of people are murdered and a property of millions is either looted or destroyed by fire. At present my family in the house is quite alright but nothing is known of relatives at a distance of 2 miles even. An air liner flies over the affected areas without rendering any help to the people...

Obediently yours,

Jemadar

To: Major———
Eastern Command.

From: Jemadar———
Dist. Jullunder (Punjab),
29/8/47.

Dear Sir,

....The trains did not run since 16 Aug. 47. Train ran only for two days but when too many casualties inflicted in it, they are again stopped. As soon as the situation is a bit clear I will try to rejoin my duty. But if I could not return in due time, can you please grant my 28 days victory leave....

Obediently yours,

Jemadar

To: Major —
Eastern Command.

From: Jemadar —
Dist. Jullundur (Punjab),
22 Sept. 47.

My dearest Sir,

....Millions of people have been rendered homeless. Many who were masters of Lakhs a few days ago are no better than beggars. Peasantry is totally destroyed on the both sides. One who had not the courage to kill a hen even has now killed dozen of men, women and children. It is hoped that at least 1/4 of the population of Punjab has been killed. In rural area there are NO signs of peace or Law & Order as NO military or police has even been seen. It appears as if there is no Government ruling over this area. Every body is at present at liberty to kill as many as he likes......

I beg to remain Sir,
Your most obediant Servant,
Sd................(Jem).

From a British Officer,
29-8-47.

Dear —

....I'm afraid it is still pretty grim. It started in the beginning of August with reasonably small parties of Sikhs beating up isolated Muslim villages in E. Punjab. It rapidly deteriorated until 14th & 15th August, when there was a pretty good blood bath in the whole of E. Punjab. Muslim villages and quarters of Amritsar, Jullundur and all the main towns were eliminated by arson. Women and children were butchered and anyone who defended them was as well......

Yours, etc.
P.

One of the first important acts of the provincial Government, set up in the East Punjab, was to cancel the arms and ammunition licences granted to Muslims and confiscate their arms and ammunition. "Up to this date (August 14, 1947)," writes, Sir Francis Tuker:

> "the D.I.G. of Police, the Commissioner, the S.P. and the D.C. had all been British, and further to this the police force was mainly Muslim. This ensured the protection of the minorities. On the departure of the British official the Muslim police were removed from being in charge of the Arms Kotes (armouries) and Hindu and Sikhs replaced them."[1]

This step had further assured the Sikh and Brahmanic people and impressed upon them that they could attack fearlessly the defenceless Muslims without apprehension of any counter attack. The pall of smoke out of the burning houses and villages which struck and spread terror among the besieged Muslim families covered the face of East Punjab.

Simultaneously the Muslim police was asked to resign and those who did not resign were promptly disarmed and abandoned with no duty. The disarming of the Muslim police, a step by which the East Punjab Government undermined the Muslim morale, caused panic among the Muslim masses. The Muslim police, finding themselves disarmed, helpless and abandoned, saw the danger in their further stay and set off to Pakistan; and the common man, taking this as a signal of peril, got terrorised and demoralised without knowing what to do!

The Muslim population of the East Punjab, numbering about 64 lac,[2] was spread over the vast lengths and breadths of the province from the plains to the hills and from cities to villages and hamlets. Out of this figure, about 30 lac people dwelt in cities and towns, the urban areas, and the rest lived in rural areas. The rural areas could be classified into two categories, one consisting of, what one may call for convenience sake, "big villages" with population over 1,000, and the others comprising "small villages" where population did not figure over 1,000. About 18 lac Muslims lived in big villages and the remaining 16 lac were spread over the vast areas from Simla Hills to the hills of Pathankot and Gurdaspur District to that of Gurgaon, interspersed among the fast multitudes of the Brahmanic people and Sikhs to the proportion ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. The Muslim population in some small villages even did not exceed 20 to 50 souls. They were mostly the poor class people and, living as they did in a sea of the Sikh and Brahmanic people, they were the most helpless. Still worse, these villages were totally isolated, completely cut off from one another and far removed from roads and

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 442.
2. Census Report, 1941.

railways; the chief means of communication and transport here were the human legs and animals.

Staying at home was fraught with obvious danger; but departure and travel in the hostile regions held worse risks and perils. All round, the unfortunate Musalmans were surrounded by well-armed and numerically superior enemy burning with implacable resentment and unrelenting zeal to crush them. No means of defence and no quarter for shelter; pains and torture, insults and disgrace, violation of the helpless women and desecration of their mosques and shrines, and death hovering over their heads! What a heavy price, the religion demanded ! Only miracles could rescue them; but miracles were not going to happen.

Here and there some courageous spirits took advantage of the negligence or slackness of the enemy or of the Nature's favour which appeared in the shape of rains and storms and obstructed the enemy's designs and movement and fled under the cover of night, avoiding ordinary routes through fields of crops and bushes and escaped to towns and cities. But vast numbers of those ill-fated people whose departure and flight was noticed and detected were pursued, overtaken, dishonoured and brutally done to death; the women who could get opportunity saved their honour by plunging into nearby wells, but those who could not escape the hands of and resisted the voracious beasts were stripped naked, tied hand and foot and were outraged to death under the eyes of their helpless male members; while others were forcibly abducted and dragged away to warm the cruel embraces of the "Conquerors of Punjab" and the murderers of their kith and kin.

The luckless people did not know what to do; they had no plans to follow, and no programme to adopt. Except wild rumours propagated by the enemy, they had no news of the happenings of the other places. Necessity suggested them to move towards the cities or to cross the border and enter into Pakistan. And thus they formed themselves into caravans and departed for ever from their forefather's homes and villages on unknown and perilous journeys. The roads were blocked by armed Sikhs and the trains were derailed and raided. In the words of Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker:

> "They have no homes, no clothes and very little food. The East Punjab Government forbade refugees to take food with them into West Punjab. These wretched people are wandering about dying of starvation, exposure, and attack from Sikhs or Muslims as the case may be. About 3/4, possibly more, of the Punjab Boundary Force is S.E. of of the border, where the vast majority of the 'incidents' have so far occurred."[1]

1. *While Memory Serves.*

The scale of killing and the movement of refugees became even more extensive than those caused by the formal conflicts of opposing armies. According to *The Times*' Special Correspondent in the East Punjab, the killing was "a thousand times more horrible than an actual war." He wrote in *Times*, London, August 25, 1947:

> " 'A thousand times more horrible than anything we saw during the War,' is the universal comment of experienced officers, British and Indian, on the present slaughter of Muslims in the East Punjab. The Sikhs are on the war-path. They are clearing Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee westward, burning Muslim villages and homesteads; in their frenzy burning their own too.
>
> "This violence has been organised from the highest levels of Sikh leadership, and it is being done systematically sector by sector. Some large towns, like Amritsar and Jullundur, ARE NOW QUIETER, BECAUSE THERE ARE NO MUSLIMS LEFT. In a two-hour air reconnaisance of the Jullundur district at the week-end I must have seen 500 villages aflame.
>
> "The Sikh Jathas, armed mobs from 50 to 1,000 strong, assemble usually in the Gurdwaras, their places of worship, before making a series of raids. Many Jathas cross over from the Sikh States. The armament of a typical Jatha consists of one or two fire-arms, army and home-made grenades, spears, axes, and kirpans, the Sikh sabres, which are also religious emblems.
>
> "The Muslims are usually armed only with staves. When threatened they assemble on their roofs and beat gongs and drums to summon help from neighbouring Muslim communities and prepare to throw stones at the attackers.
>
> "The Sikhs attack scientifically. A first wave armed with fire-arms fires to bring the Muslims off their roofs. A second wave lobs grenades over the walls. In the ensuing confusion a third wave goes in with kirpans and spears and the serious killing begins. A last wave consists of older men, often army pensioners with long white beards, who carry torches and specialise in arson, mounted outsiders with kirpans cut down those trying to flee.
>
> "British officers have seen Jathas THAT HAVE INJURED WOMEN AND EVEN CHILDREN WITH SPEARS. APPALLING ATROCITIES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED; BODIES HAVE BEEN MUTILATED; NONE HAS BEEN SPARED—MEN, WOMEN OR CHILDREN. In one village, out of 50 corpses 30 were those of women. One Viceroy's commissioned officer FOUND FOUR BABIES ROASTED TO DEATH OVER A FIRE.

"Although the Jathas are often led by former's soldiers, with whom this region abounds, they are cowardly bodies. One well-armed Jatha, which had burned a string of 5 Muslim villages and murdered at least 500 people, was finally halted with the loss of six lives by a small Muslim village possessing only one rifle and one pistol but dauntlessly led by a former captain of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps.

"The British Officers effectively dispersed a mob about to attack a train which had been expertly diverted into a siding. The young Indian pilot of my Auster aircraft dispersed several Jathas (only temporarily, alas!) by firing Very lights at them.

"The three battalions of the Boundary Force have lately been conforced by a fourth, but they have had to cover three large districts and have been faced with an impossible task. By the time they have received one report and acted on it, the Jatha has moved on elsewhere. Moreover, Sikh and Hindu troops have refused to fire on Sikh gangs, or else they have fired to miss. The Muslim police were disarmed before August 15, and the Sikh police have looted and killed with the mobs."

The Special Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, in a despatch to his paper on the situation in East Punjab, reported as follows:

"The common estimate is 10,000 Muslim men, women and children butchered in Jullundur. Half were burned in their beds on Tuesday night."[1]

The Times, London, on August 30, 1947, as reported by its Special Correspondent in Punjab, described the situation:[2]

"According to the best neutral sources, no fewer than 10,000 Muslims have lost their lives in the Amritsar district alone during this month.

"Three battalions, with tank support, have been actively engaged in breaking up Sikh raiding parties—in one affray they killed 61 men—but now their main task is the protection of the refugees. The Sikhs have displayed the same ruthlessness and brutality as in the Jullundur district. Out of one Muslim village of 350 people which fought off a large Sikh mob for six hours, only 40 survived. Women and children have been hacked into small pieces.

"Women have had their hands cut off when kneeling in an attitude of supplication. Many of the younger women have been carried off.

"Sikh attacks on westward-bound trains continue and

1. *Blood Bath.*
2. *Dawn*, 31st August, 1947.

the Frontier Mail was attacked twice on Saturday, the one in Faridkot State resulting in numerous Muslim deaths. The Government has warned the public that railway travel between Delhi and Lahore is 'totally insecure.' "

Sir Francis writes:

"However, on the night 31st July-1st August, a village called Jhand, near Goraya on the Jullundur-Ludhiana Road, was systematically attacked by a well-armed gang of Sikhs about 60 strong. The village had resisted stoutly, and had had 14 men killed and the outskits of the village set on fire.....

"The next serious incidents were north of Jullundur. In the first case, the Sikhs of Sus attacked and destroyed six or seven villages in the Garwah area, killing over 20, and the Sikhs of Haripur attacked Talwandi Araiyan, killing some 15 people. In the first case, the D.C. of Hoshiarpur went out and imposed a fine of Rs. 200 on Sus, which has so far not been collected. In the case of Haripur, the Civil authorities did little more than take down the names of the casualties at Talwandi Araiyan.

"I went up with the Bde. Comd. the next morning and found the police thana and found that in spite of all the damage being done to Muslim shops, people injured being Muslim, the cells were full of 'criminals' also all Muslim. Not one Sikh or Hindu was under arrest. The Bde. Comd. immediately returned towards Jullundur to meet the Commissioner and acquaint him with the completely partial behaviour of the Hoshiarpur police. The disciplinary action demanded by the Bde. Comd. was politely refused, as police morale may have suffered.

"In addition to the above, a large-scale attack by the Sikhs had been made in the rural areas south and south-east of Hoshiarpur to within a distance of only a mile or so. A number of villages had been completely destroyed and about 5,000 Muslims killed. A 'refugee' train was also attacked but was saved by the timely arrival of two British officers who engaged the attackers, killed several and drove them off."[1]

"The Battalion arrived at Ambala at 12.30 p.m. on the 1st September. On arrival in the Cantonment Station it found a train comprising five compartments and one flat bogey full of dead....Of approximately two hundred bodies on board seventeen were alive and sent to hospital.

"The Adjutant reported to the C.O. after about five minutes (1st Sept.) that a train containing dead bodies was lying on the next line to ours. On going to inspect this train they found five carriages, one goods wagon and one flat

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1. *While Memory Serves.*

bogey filled with dead and wounded Muslims. Holes caused by bren-gun bursts were visible on all coaches. There were some Hindu and Sikh policemen standing by on the platform whilst some of the slightly wounded and unwounded were getting into lorries. An army guard was on the platform taking no action whatsoever....

"The driver of the engine evidently intended to let the massacre continue by driving his train into the open country, and now only disconnected his engine at the pistol point. Our Officers had seen piles of burning corpses at Sirhind, the next stop up the line.

"During this time the wounded had been taken out of the train and first-aid had been given. The majority of wounds were caused by sword and spear thrusts. Among the more noteworthy cases were those of a small girl aged four or five with both legs hacked off above knees but still alive: a pregnant woman with her baby ripped out of the womb, she died: an old man of about sixty, who had served in the Hong Kong and Singapore Artillery, with six spear wounds and still alive."[1]

Yet more harrowing were the tales of the Muslims of Bharatpur State and Alwer State.[2]

Brutalities

Mr. Dhanwantri, a prominent socialist worker, wrote in *The Communist Peoples' Age*: "Hundreds of Muslim women were raped or abducted from Amritsar. In one instance a batch of Muslim women were stripped naked and made to parade in the streets of Amritsar. There were even public rapings of women. All humanity, all chivalry and decency seemed to have gone."[3]

Hall Burton wrote in an article in *The New York Mirror*:

"Terror stalks India today as turbaned, bearded Sikhs enforce their warlike supremacy with fire and sword. Their methods of massacre are more traditional. With swords, spears and guns, sometimes with automatic weapons and with weapons purchased from American war surplus left behind in India, they sweep down on helpless Muslim villages. Every one is slain, men, women and children. Finally the village is put to torch and left blazing as a monument to unfortunately drawn boundary line."[4]

An estimate of the planned massacres in the Patiala State early in August (1947) can be made from the following despatch of the special correspondent of *The Communist Peoples' Age*, Bombay:

"He (the Maharaja of Patiala) started huge refugee Camps in

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1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 492.
2. Ibid.
3. *East Punjab's Blood Bath*, p. 22.
4. See *Blood Bath*.

his state. About 50 to 70 thousand refugees were brought into these camps. With an eye to the future, he had them fully trained with the help of Akali training centres and paid Akali propagandists imported from outside the State.

"The first shot was fired—fifteen days before the zero hour—on August 1. That day the people just awoke to find that a Hindu had been murdered in the State. Who had murdered him was not known and perhaps would never be known unless the State is keeping papers of all its secret preparations in some vaults which would fall in our hands one day.

"Five thousand non-Patialis—the 'refugees' who were kept and fed in the State School hostels and guest houses—were at once on the streets with the corpse of the poor victim. This was the signal for the mass murders which were then begun all through the State. Remember that not one local man had joined either in the funeral procession or the butchery that followed it.

"So, on August 3, a canard was spread that the Ruler—who had diplomatically left Patiala for a holiday just before August 1—was murdered by a Muslim Major—Farooqi. The path of 'vengeance' was shown by the trained hands. The State army openly joined. That day in Patiala City alone, 14,000 members of the minority community were butchered.

"This reign of terror prevailed in the town till August 6 and machine-gun rifle fire was heard continuously. It was now clear that Muslims could no longer stay in the Patiala State and they had to say good-bye to their hearths and homes and seek refuge in Bahadargarh Fort where 23,000 of them took refuge from Maharaja's machine-guns of genocide; 15,000 were in the Bassi Camp while another 60,000 went to Rauza Sharif in Sirhind. There were 40,000 in Samana, 10,000 in Talwandi and about 40,000 in the other side of Jhaggar in Naili area. The refugee camps and other concentrations accounted for 1,88,000 in all out of a total of 4,36,539 Muslims in the State. If His Highness is tried by an international court he will have to show what happened to the rest!"[1]

Sir Francis Tuker observes:

"My experience is that most of the rumours are of a nature hostile to Muslims, e.g. of Muslim units planning attack on Hindus, of Muslim hordes marching on Hindu villages, or Muslim atrocities, etc., and most of them are found on

1. *East Punjab's Blood Bath*, pp. 15-16.

investigation to be false. In my opinion these rumours are started by some Hindu organisation, for they often bear the stamp of being put out with a purpose. I suspect the R.S.S. Sangh, the extremist and militant body of the Mahasabha.

"In Eastern Command, all Muslims, men, women and children, now walk and have their very being in mortal dread of violent and savagely inflicted death. These wretched people have virtually no refuge, no protection.

"There are large numbers of Sikhs and Hindus in this Command who are determined that the Muslims shall not live. They can kill suddenly and so almost with impunity, wherever they will, whenever they will and however many of their victims they will, before any hand is raised to stop them. Theirs is the initiative and that initiative will remain with them so long as the forces of law and order, civil and military, act after event and not before it.

"Sikh savagery was appalling. Long after the victim was dead they would slash and slash away at the body, carving it up. They, and many Hindus, were like dogs that had taken to killing sheep—just an insensate, devilish lust to wallow in the blood of helpless creatures."[1]

Describing the massacres of Muslim population in Alwar State, Lt. General Sir Francis relates:

"On the 5th August the large village of Tijara, containing a considerable Mussulman population, was visited by a Minister of Alwar State and a jail official both related to the ruler of Alwar, accompanied by other State officials. They set to work to incite the Hindus of Tijara and the neighbourhood against the Muslims. Later they sent for Lambardars (Headmen) Ilahi Bakhsh of Daika, Sawan Khan of Palas, Ali and Rehmat Khan of Bilaspur and advised them to become Hindus. These happenings greatly alarmed all Muslims in Tijara area.

"On the night of the 5/6th August at 8 p.m. eight Muslim villages west of Tijara were set on fire by unknown persons, causing further alarm among Muslims. Large numbers of Hindus from villages east of Tijara entered the town on the 6th August, camping near the police station.

"At 7 a.m. on the 7th August these Hindus fired two small Muslim villages in the outskirts of Tijara. They later raised a cry that Muslims were attacking them and took refuge near the police station. At 10 a.m. an aircraft with 'Jaipur' on its wings circled Tijara low and made off. At 12 noon four jeeps and one 15-cwt. truck containing troops

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 495.

with Jaipur, Alwar and Bharatpur on their shoulder-straps arrived at Tijara police station. After a quarter of an hour at the police station, one jeep proceeded to the Fort and three jeeps went to Nazim Barkat Ullah's house and opened fire with rifles and L.M.Gs., despite Barkat Ullah's plea that he was a State Nazim (Official). The troops entered the house and murdered all the occupants except Zaruq Khan, Matin, the Lambardar, and Saidan, the sister of Subadar Habib Khan, 4th Battalion Indian Grenadiers. The corpses were heaped up and set alight and Barkat Ullah's house looted by the troops. They then went to Subadar Yasin Khan's house and opened fire as before. Troops trying to force an entry were fired on by someone inside with a shotgun and three were killed. The troops then withdrew and left the house alone. State troops then dispersed all over Tijara, shooting every Muslim they saw.

"Subadar Major Tasaduq Hussain, late of 3rd Battalion, Indian Grenadiers, left Tijara on 7th August 1947 but returned to register a report at the police station. On his way back to the jungle close to where his family had taken refuge he was attacked by State troops who killed him and all his family except two young girls, whom they invited to marry them and embrace Hinduism. Both girls committed suicide by jumping into a nearby well."

Sirdar Valabh Patel, the Minister of Interior, Bharat Government, announced that there could be no peace until all Muslims had left East Punjab. As Sir Francis records: "Thak Khulgaya, says a Punjabi—all restraint is lost, and lost for ever in the spilling of Muslim blood. That was what we felt in Eastern Command. The epitome of hatred, the Mahasabha and its half-secret fighting machine, the R.S.S. Sangh, were in full career, nail and tooth dripping blood. At Delhi Sirdar Patel was proclaiming what was now becoming apparent that there could be no peace until all Muslims had left the Eastern Punjab...."

"With the extermination and eviction of Muslims," writes Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker, "killing far and wide over the country-side decreased. All sadistic energies were bent to attacking the sorry streams of refugees who, with the little they could carry of their homes, slowly flowed along the main roads between the two halves of the once prosperous and happy Punjab, or passed over the border in over-crowded refugee trains. The soldiers' problem became narrower. It is to convoy these luckless people from their old homes of death and horror till they reached the strange new homes in an unknown place or died of exhaustion on the way to their promised land."[1]

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1. *While Memory Serves.*

"The words of freedom are allusive to all; its evils are known only to the actual sufferers." (Alison, *History of Europe.*)

The Sikhs by now have tasted the fruits of freedom. The hard kicks, they have received, must have made them painfully conscious of the deceit and falsity of the Brahman's assurances held out for the formation of a "Sikh homeland" and of the most foolish role they played. They must have realised how the shrewd Brahman has refused to them the right of co-existence, wiped out the Sikh states of Nabha, Patiala and Jind from the map of Bharat and under the pretence of rehabilitation dispersed them over the vast lengths and breadths of Bharat. The divide-and-rule policy, pursued by the ruthless Brahman Imperialism, has already struck and splintered the much boasted Sikh solidarity and strength and inflicted upon the unfortunate people ugly dissensions. Economic strangulation of the whole masses of the Sikhs, the denial to them of any opportunities of national expression, the inadequacies of Sikh representation in the services and commercial life of the country and the persistent efforts through all governmental and non-governmental agencies to eliminate distinctive feature of Sikh life, are the stark facts—ever present and ever growing. It is not difficult to see that the followers of "Nanak" may not escape the status of serfs and slaves in the Brahman kingdom and Sikhism may disappear in not too distant a future as a tale of the past. The Sikh intelligentsia have already begun to think: "Whether or not the Sikhs can prevent their extinction; whether they possess sufficient abilities and tenacity to save the religion of the Gurus." Time alone will give the proper reply to such questions, but the obvious intentions of the Brahman encourage no hope.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands

The Andaman islands situated towards East-South of India are nearer to East Pakistan than Bharat from any point. Judged by any standard they belonged to Pakistan. Plebiscite nor wish of the inhabitants nor geographical situation was considered. The "sailor" simply made a gift of the islands to the Brahman.

Rape of Junagadh

The Brahman stepped into the British shoes and got the solid benefits and advantages of an established government, while Pakistan had yet to establish itself as well as its government. The massacre and uprooting of Muslims in East Punjab plunged the newborn Pakistan in the nerve-racking situation created by the influx of ten million shelterless refugees, deprived of their kith and kin, bread and belongings in Bharat. Then there were unprecedented rains and floods accompanied by their faithful friends—cholera and malaria. The new state hardly had a breathing time. Bharat, under the "able" guidance of the Martial Viceroy, chose this favourable moment and forcibly occupied Junagadh.

Junagadh was a small native state with an area of 4,017 square

miles, on the Western Coast of India about 150 miles by sea-route towards south from Karachi. It had a sea board with 16 ports, two of which were ports of calls for steamers. It had a Muslim ruler with many Brahmanic subjects. On September 15, 1947, this state acceded to Pakistan. "Nothing was wrong in the Accession,"[1] as Sir Francis observes; but Bharat refused to acknowledge it and claimed the state by inheritance. The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, a neighbouring State, "informed the world that the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan was an 'act which is unjustifiable from every point of view.' " "Every point of view," in the words of Sir Francis, "would presumably exclude geographical position and the religion, or nationality, of the ruler. One cannot resist a feeling of tedium at naive statements of this nature."[2] A few weeks later Bharat laid violent hands on this State "to force it to accede to Hindustan. Its warships lay off the coast under the pretext of 'combined operations' exercises, its troops stood on the border of the State."[3]

"Troops to the tune of 25,000 were," in the words of *Dawn*, "deployed all around Junagadh completely encircling it; units of the Hindustan Navy were moved up to nearby Indian ports; aircraft of the RIAF circled menacingly over the State; the sovereignty of Junagadh was violated by moving military units across its territory to occupy Mangrol, Babaria-wad and Manavadar; all communications between the State and the Indian Union were cut off; and to complete the process of terrorisation innocent civilians were murdered and women were raped or abducted."

On November 10, 1947, the Indian forces occupied Junagadh, still hold it by force, and atrocities of East Punjab were repeated. Thousands of the uprooted families, driven homeless, soon confronted Karachi in endless streams of refugees.

The Bleeding Kashmir

Meanwhile Mountbatten also got prepared to employ his experience of the World War for the rape of Kashmir. Officers in command of Pakistan Army (whatever worth it was) were all British and they looked up for orders to the Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, and not to Karachi.[4] While faced with multiple problems the problems of establishing its administration, of accommodating millions of the uprooted refugees and of fighting with floods and pestilence,

1. *While Memory Serves.*
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Mountbatten had, on the pretext of maintaining law and order, retained the supreme command of the armed forces and their splitting into Bharati and Pakistani armies, in his own hands. The supreme command and the joint military system did not break even long after the transfer of Power. Auchinleck, the Supreme Commander, in spite of his solemn assurances, acted as a Brahman. Gracey, the acting Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, disowned Pakistan at a very crucial moment and refused obedience to the Pakistan Governor-General. Instead he conveyed the Pakistan secrets to Delhi and sought instructions from Mountbatten.

Pakistan was in a helpless situation. On October 7, 1947, the colourful Viceroy of Bharat, through an intrigue with the Brahmanic Maharaja of Kashmir, introduced the arms of Bharat into the heart of Pakistan and the Bharati Government stunned the world with the announcement that Bharat had flown her troops to and occupied Kashmir. And to cover the guilt of the naked aggression and usurpation, both the Brahman and the Viceroy proclaimed to the world that a free and impartial plebiscite of the people of Kashmir, however, would decide whether Kashmir should accede to Bharat or Pakistan. The U.N.O. was invited to lend its support to their "pious intention"; they submitted to that august organisation "that the question of accession of Jammu and Kashmir will be decided by the people of Kashmir by means of a free and impartial plebiscite to be conducted under United Nations' control." But all was fraud. The promises were made to betray and hopes were raised to deceive. The object was to grab Kashmir.

The beautiful vale of Kashmir occupies an exceedingly strategic position. Its borders touch Tibet, China, Russia and Afghanistan. Eighty per cent of the population is Muslim. As a princely state, its people were entitled to choose which nation (Bharat or Pakistan) they would join. The Brahman, in occupation of Kashmir, never intended plebiscite nor is prepared to face a verdict of the people. He was and is well aware that in a free election the Kashmiris would almost certainly vote for Pakistan. He paid lip-service to the principle of self-determination, but, in fact, has steadily tightened India's hold on the unfortunate Valley. At first he ruled the state through Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, a Kashmiri Muslim who had long been a friend of Nehru. But in 1953, when Abdullah showed signs of objecting to Bharat's designs of domination, he was thrown into jail, and remains there now without trial. The so-called "Peace Brigades" of Bharat rigidly suppressed the advocates of Kashmir's independence or union with Pakistan. Four times the U.N. Security Council, by overwhelming vote, demanded a plebiscite in Kashmir. Since 1949, eleven proposals for settling the differences have been put forward. Pakistan acceptecd each; Bharat rejected every one and is avoiding plebiscite. Now at the Brahman's behest a hand-picked Kashmiri Constituent Assembly has drawn up a state constitution whose main article reads: "Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India." January 26, 1957, was fixed the date for formal annexation of the state with Bharat. But the timely action taken by the U.N. Security Council which directed for maintenance of *status quo* and disposal of Kashmir by a free and impartial plebiscite, frustrated the Brahman's hopes. The usurper has been unmasked, and his tactics well exposed. The world opinion has collectively and individually condemned the Brahman; but the wolf is adamant. The unfortunate people of the occupied Kashmir, subjected to an unprecedented oppression, are experienc-

ing the "bitterest fruits" of freedom. There is a virtual iron curtain over the Valley, and the woes and tales of misery of Kashmir and the seething sea of its resentment against the Brahman's imperialism are not permitted to come to light. With passage of time, the temper of the aggressor is growing fiercer and armed conflict now appears to be the only alternative left which can relieve Kashmir from the crushing grasp of the Brahman.

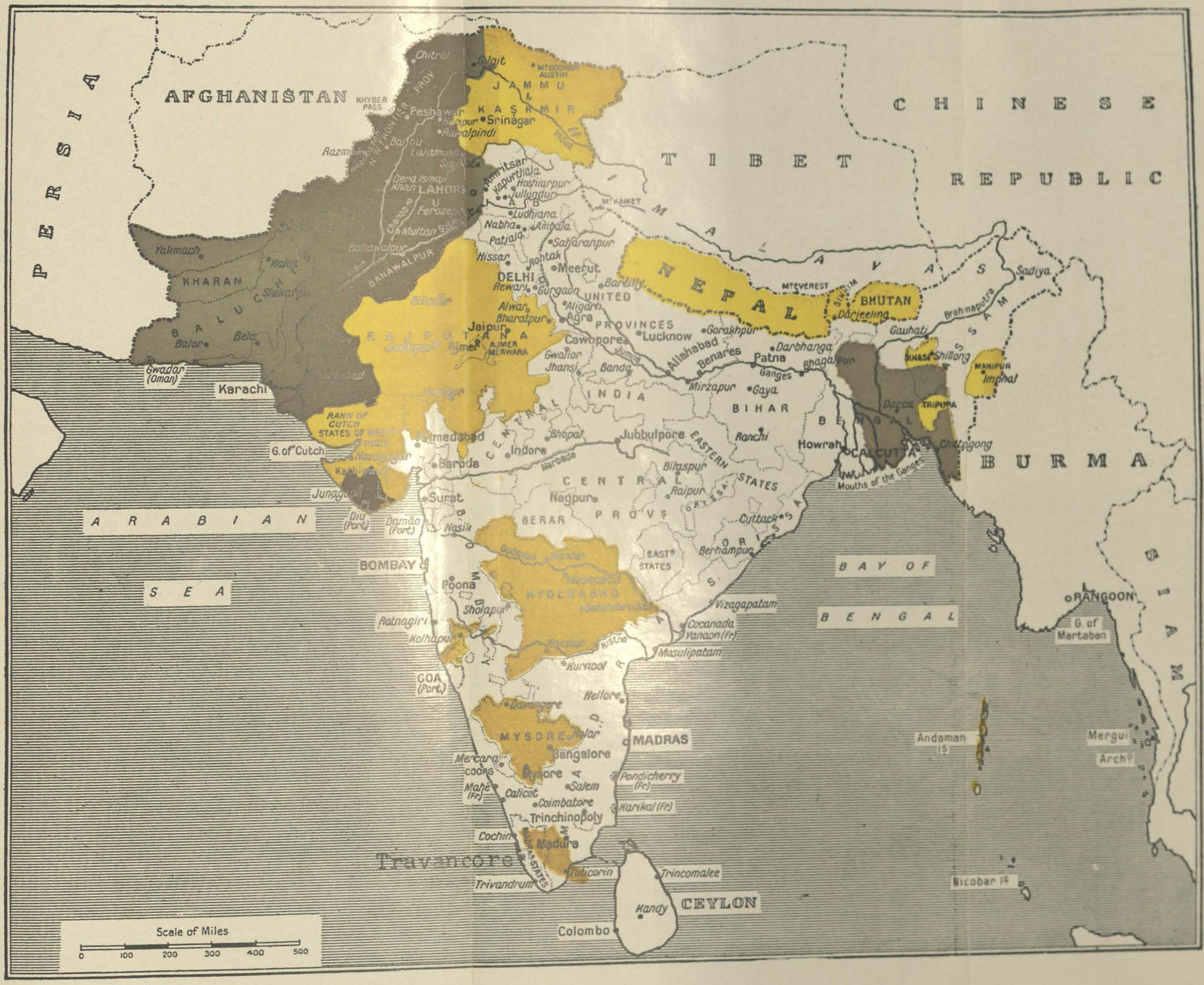
Tripura

Now a word about Tripura State situated in East Bengal. "Tripura State bade fair to emulate Kashmir. Here was a Hindu ruler on the borders of Assam, his State virtually an island in East Pakistan, for none of its communications ran into Assam—all ran into Bengal, into what was is now Pakistan. Its large Muslim population demanded accession to Pakistan and so did its Hindu Chief Minister. But its Hindu Ruler acceded to the Indian Union. That 'Dominion' now became apprehensive that the people might have their way, so ordered its troops into Tripura State. Luckily, Eastern Command could confidently assert that it had no troops to send, and if it had, they could only get into Tripura by air, in order to avoid passing through Pakistan territory, whereas all aircraft were up in the north of the Kashmir venture. Assam was very urgent to move troops into the State but all the civil authority had in its own hand was the Assam Rifles, its armed police, and these had British officers who could not possibly be sent in on an invasion of a State at the behest of an Indian Government. So, fortunately, an impasse was produced—and we made the most of it—which allowed feelings to cool. Agartala airfield was, in any case, right up against the Pakistan border and within thirty miles of a Pakistan garrison, which would probably have moved at once if it heard of an airborne landing by Hindustan troops in Tripura State."[1]

The Unfortunate Nagas

Nagas, the hardy race of ancient tribes (of Dravidians), now peopled in various Naga hills on Assam borders, love their freedom, their hills, their ancient faith and culture, more than their lives. These martial people have neither been tamed by gold nor terrorised by the Brahman's ruthless bombing. Their strong determination to maintain the freedom of their country has so far successfully resisted the Brahman's arms. Confident in the strength of their mountains and jungles, they are determined to overthrow the yoke of the Brahman's imperialism. Their misfortune or slavery too is another tale of Mountbatten's perfidy to the various peoples of this sub-continent and of his partisanship with the Brahman. "The Nagas were now putting forth," writes Lt. General Sir Francis, "their claims (March-June 1947) to be independent of India while Assam was urging them to join its province, using the honey tongue combined

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 502.



AFGHANISTAN
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINESE
REPUBLIC
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BURMA
SIAM
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
CEYLON
JAMMU
KASHMIR
BALUCHISTAN
RAJPUTANA
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
CENTRAL PROVS
UNITED PROVINCES
BIHAR
BENGAL
ASSAM
ORISSA
EASTERN STATES
BOMBAY
MADRAS
DELHI
LAHORE
Karachi
Peshawar
Srinagar
CALCUTTA
Chittagong
RANGOON
Colombo
Travancore
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500

INDIA (1947)

with sly remarks about India's armed strength. The Nagas addressed Mr. Churchill, and placed their confidence in the British soldier to give them a square deal—the British alongside whom they had fought this war. Alas! no soldier who knew them had the chance to urge their cause any more than to urge the cause of the Gurkha soldier, the political toy of a British Cabinet. They were small fry, friends of the British, loyal and ignored by a democracy which always seeks to woo its powerful enemies and succeeds in betraying its humble friends. The Sub-Committee (Advisory Sub-Committee on Tribal Areas) were not having the success with the tribes so eagerly reported in a sympathetic Hindu Press: in fact, the tribes were indignantly denying flagrantly biased Press reports that they had complained against their British officials and that they were longing for the day when they could form part of free India.

"However, like all hill clans, these same hillmen could not live long at peace with each other. Nagas and Kukis had both collected large numbers of modern weapons during the war. The Kukis were nomadic and often caused friction by squatting on Naga land. They were hereditary enemies. Some time or other, probably when British officials have left their country, they will fight. If they do, then, since the Assam government has allowed the Dimapur road to fall into disrepair, the Army will probably not be able to intervene unless the old airfields of Manipur can in good time be reconditioned.

"Nearer home, the Kasi Siems of the Shillong neighbourhood were urging their people and each other to stand firm against the devouring ogre, India."

The Hideous Criminal

Mountbatten thus "led the way to new India," and fulfilled his pledge—the pledge he held out to Nehru in his very first interview with the great Brahman: "Mr. Nehru, I want you to regard me not the last Viceroy winding up the British Raj, but as the first to lead the way to a new India." The carnage and devastation of Muslim masses and the extinction of Muslim existence in the East Punjab and the bordering states, the atrocious partition of Pakistan, rape of Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad and other states, the fiendish distribution of assets, are the monumental achievements of the perfidy and deceit of the "Mediating" Viceroy. The great Mountbatten has perhaps for ever disturbed the peace, unlocked perennial springs of mischief and sown such seeds of implacable hatred and hostility between the Brahman and Pakistan as are eventually bound to lead to armed conflict. Whether because of racial or national anti-Muslim prejudices, Mountbatten chose to play the party game of the Brahman or he fell victim to "presents" and temptations. Judged by whatever standard, and looked from whatever angle, the royal sailor stands out a hideous criminal and history that records the accidents and events of his time and fortune in India, shall ever live to reproach

and execrate his wicked and scandalous partisanship with the Brahman to cripple and throttle Pakistan and chain the various peoples of India (Sikhs, Rajputs, Dravidians, Marathas, etc.) to the yoke of Brahmanic imperialism.

CHAPTER X

A MEASURE FOR BRAHMAN'S SECURITY

NO GOVERNMENT can stand for a moment unless its army is loyal to it. Britain had gone, after the Second World War, too decrepit to preserve her domination in this sub-continent. The British arms ceased to command respect or inspire terror. The trials of the various members of I.N.A. and the mutiny of the various sections of the Army and the Navy (at Karachi, Bombay and other places) revealed a seething sea of an irresistible disaffection and widespread discontent in the armed forces. Fear of rebellion was dreadful and chance of success even more doubtful. The 1857 struggle for independence had left behind bitter memories but serviceable lessons. It was unthinkable that Britain, impoverished by the War, could afford to come into an armed conflict with the Indian forces in a War of Independence. In fact the British Government was "anxious to prevent a situation of this kind arising" and was, in the words of Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker, "left with no alternative other than to quit India" and "she was prepared to quit."[1]

The war of independence of 1857 had obliged Britain to relinquish for ever the ambitious design of holding India, for ever, in chains of slavery; but, as a measure of punishment for the authors of the mischief, the foreigners resolved to wipe out the political existence of the Indian Musalman and, as a measure of revenge, they embraced the Brahman as their heir to the Indian Empire. Since then cares of the British Imperialism were strenuously engaged to settle upon the Brahman its Indian fortunes. The Musalman was hit and repeatedly hit, and every crime which is punished by the social justice was practised upon this unfortunate nation as the rights of war. The Brahman was spoon-fed, nourished with springs of wealth and benefits and invested with all political and social privileges and honours. The good of India was what could serve to advance the Brahman. The myth of "Hinduism" was devised and by that device (i.e. "Hinduism") the ancient nations were chained to the heels of their destroyer—the Brahman—and their nationalities, simple faiths, civilisation and their separate existence were extinguished—all to swell the Brahman into a permanent political majority. Simultaneously there were introduced and artfully worked up the deceitful notions of "Indian Nation" and "Indian Nationalism." The hated Musalman was shaped into a permanent political minority and the British revenge sought to sink the Muslim existence beneath the slogans of "Indian Nation." Gradually but steadily,

1. *While Memory Serves.*

the Brahman was pushed up into power and authority. Though a minority of 23% in the Punjab, the Brahman formed the Cabinet after the general elections in 1946—a very critical period in the Indian history—and ruled over the Muslim majority. In July and August 1946, the Muslim India was shamelessly by-passed and betrayed in flagrant breach of solemn pledges and the Brahman was installed on the Central Government. No threat and embarrassment was spared by Mountbatten and his party to coerce Jinnah. His (Jinnah's) interviews were regarded as "encounters" and the atmosphere was turned nerve-racking and hostile against him: "Tell Jinnah what he will get if he refuses it. He won't be reasonable until this has been classified"; "Mountbatten will treat Jinnah in sorrow ..in anger..'; "Mountbatten said that he had cautiously tested Jinnah's reaction to the threat, failing agreement, of demitting power to the Interim Government on a Dominion Status basis. Jinnah had apparently been very calm, and had said simply that he could not stop such a step in any event. In some respects this may well turn out to be the most delicate and decisive moment for Mountbatten's and Jinnah's diplomacy. Mountbatten felt that Jinnah's reaction was both abnormal and disturbing. It was certainly shrewd. The *ballon d'essai* has gone up and come down again, providing only the evidence that Jinnah has a very steady nerve"; "Mountbatten then said, 'If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress Party and Sikhs will refuse final acceptance; chaos will follow, and you will lose your Pakistan, probably for good.'"[1] As against such "an impartial treatment reserved for the Muslim leader, the Brahman Nehru was received as an "informal" member of Mountbatten's family; notes were exchanged with him and, in the opinion of the public, no intrigue was considered finalised unless it had been approved by the Brahman. There was no recognition of the Muslim demand of Pakistan nor appreciation of the Muslim anxiety to rescue their future generations from the yoke of Brahmanism; and yet the British Imperialism professed and proclaimed to the world its pious intentions to do fairness to the Indian Musalman. What trust could be placed in their word and what confidence could be reposed in their justice! Experience blows away any charitable illusions and history does not allow a belief that the British were ever disposed to be fair or just to the Muslim demand. Then what were the weighty reasons that induced Britain to agree to the creation of Pakistan? The reply is provided by Sir Francis Tuker in his very instructive book, *While Memory Serves.* According to the author, in the decision for creation of Pakistan, the British mind was determined and shaped only by the anxiety of securing the Brahman against the Russian danger. He writes:

"Hindu India was entering the most difficult phase of its whole

1. *Mission with Mountbatten.*

existence. Its religion, which is to a great extent one of superstition and formalism, is breaking down. If the precedents of history mean anything—the appearance of Stoicism, Epicureanism, Cynicism and Scepticism, on the breakdown of the Greek religion, the appearance of Communism following on the breakdown of the Catholicism of France, the revival of material philosophies on the breakdown of Buddhism in China—then we may well expect, in the material world of today, that a material philosophy such as Communism will fill the void left by the Hindu religion. It seemed to us very necessary to place Islam between Russian Communism and Hindustan."[1]

Explaining the situation and fears of Russian infiltration, he relates:

"Since Germany's downfall was imminent we had all looked to Russia as the next country which might be dangerous to the Commonwealth. The immense strength of Russia by virtue of her insular position in Central Asia I have explained elsewhere.

"For a hundred years we have kept a sponge between Russia and India. Through the evolution of war and of transport that sponge has today worn very thin. Russia's infiltration into Persia had been long foreseen; her infiltration across the Oxus from her autonomous Republics of Uzbegistan and Tajhikstan should only be a matter of time. Her threat to Turkey seemed to have died for the time being but only by the staunch opposition of that country. Recently, Russia's 'disinterested' offer of arbitration in the dispute between Chungking and Sinkiang had led the Muslims of the latter province to address Chungking as though they were already autonomous.

"The setting up of the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia was another Russo-Islamic penetration of the Chinese sphere. So it seemed that Russian Islam was potentially dangerous. Furthermore, the Tatar blood seemed historically to have retained much of its kinship over the huge area of Kublai Khan's empire.

"Turkey for some centuries was the centre of Islamic power and even now it seemed that she was a stalwart opponent, though much weakened. But she had lost her leadership of Islam and Islam now might look for leadership to the Muslims of Russia. This would be a most dangerous attraction.

"There was much therefore to be said for the introduction of a new Muslim power supported by the science of Britain.

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1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 27.

If such a power could be produced and if we could orient the Muslim strip from North Africa through Islamia Deserta, Persia and Afghanistan to the Himalayas, upon such a Muslim power in Northern India, then it had some chance of halting the infiltration of Russia towards the Persian Gulf. These Islamic countries, even including Turkey, were not a very great strength in themselves. But with a Northern Indian Islamic State of several millions it would be reasonable to expect that Russia would not dare to provoke them too far.

"Thus, it was possible and advantageous to place this Islamic strip between Russia and a virile northern Islamic State of India and to induce the states in the strip, including Turkey, to look eastwards to Muslim India instead of northwards to Islamic Russia."[1]

"No opportunity was lost of impressing on itinerant politicians and business men from England that India was perilously near a crash and that the fate of India was not, as some fondly imagined, an internal affair of India but an affair that most closely touched the future prospects of Australia, New Zealand, East and South Africa, the already tottering Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. Furthermore that the collapse of India would bring tumbling down the whole structure of the Asiatic system. Some, it seemed, believed that if we allowed India to fall into a Chinese chaos, then some sort of a government would finally evolve satisfactorily for India. But history had shown that whenever India relapsed into confusion a foreign nation had come in to take charge. In this present age it must be Russia. But suppose that chaos begat from India one single leader, who would this man be? Undoubtedly no democrat, but a despot, and that in an overpopulated country the pressure of whose population would force him to look beyond his borders to satisfy his people and to conciliate them. That would be the end of the countries, I have mentioned. At first under the aegis of U.N.O. India would quietly expand southwards in Asia and Africa, and then, later, blatantly, till these countries were assimilated into the Indian system. His resources would come from Russia, an ardent backer whose empire would thus be expanded into the Southern Seas, cutting the world's surface in half from Arctic to Antarctic.

"Chaos in India would lead to the downfall of the infant U.N.O. The North-West Frontier tribes would enter the plains of India: their blood-brothers over the Afghan border would

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 26.

follow them in: into the vacuum must then pour down the purely Afghan tribes, such as Ghilzais; the Afghans would be drawn in, then the Uzbegs and Tajiks lying athwart the border Oxus; lately Russian Islam would flood down. U.N.O. must stop the trouble. Then comes the wordy clash of ideologies leading to Russia's quitting of U.N.O. in quest of the dazzling prize, with her leg braced strongly on the start line of Mackinder's Heartland of the World contest the race with Chinese Communism."[1]

"Without this impartially controlled contingent we felt certain that the two States of India would be at each other's throats before many moons had gone. Preceding this struggle for the domination of India there would be an impoverishing race in armaments among peoples whose standard of living was already far too low. There would be no one left to guard the strategic frontiers while both races were turning their whole attention inwards upon each other. Yet the frontiers were of as deep concern to Hindustan as to Pakistan, for Hindustan, once they were breached, had no natural frontier left to her.

"More than that, Pakistan had kindred peoples and probable allies stretching northward far over her mountain borders into Asia. If she could be by any means persuaded to stand beside Hindustan, then the latter would have all the advantage of this vast cushion of Islam between herself and danger. India could then apply herself to her own undisturbed development with a great feeling of security, knowing that her own men stood far from her borders on the frontier of another State and shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of that State."[2]

Pursuing the subject further, he observes: "This book will have shown how inevitable, how necessary it was to divide India, if she was now to govern herself, in order to avert certain catastrophe. It was not even a gamble: there was no alternative."[3]

The partition of Pakistan—a partition unacceptable to the great majority of the population—was undoubtedly a great tragedy; but it was the main strategy of the British policy and no appeals nor efforts of the subject people could avert the crippling catastrophe. Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker writes:

"Admiration for Mr. Jinnah's courage and determination must always be tempered by acknowledgement of his intolerance towards views other than his own. He was an autocrat, the stuff of which dictators are made. With a powerful

1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 211.
2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. Ibid., p. 457.

military nation beneath him he might well have been a figure to strike terror into a quivering Hindustan, but with a people who would surely be at sixes and sevens among themselves and who possessed much courage but few resources with which to fight, he would not be dangerous."[1]

"Therefore, it is not surprising that as soon as India seemed to be a prize worth the grasping—one, at least geographically and administratively united—the Brahman should at once assert his claim to the country. It is not to be wondered at that the Muslim should resist that claim which would have reduced him to serfdom, to a Scheduled Caste outside the pale of Hinduism, the unwilling tool of a Brahman master. Mr. Jinnah sensed the peril in time and set to work to guard his people. He has been accused of obstinacy by all and sundry. Would they have been other than 'obstinate' placed as he was? Islam, Britain, the world, owe him their gratitude for saving what was left of Islamic culture in India. Indeed, perhaps he saved India itself as this book may have shown."[2]

The recent happenings in Egypt, Greece and Hungary amply bear out that Bharat has grown a standing menace to peaceful solution of the international problems and that the Brahman possesses more than one face. A strong, and not a crippled or weak, Pakistan is essential for peace in the Middle East and the East and for preservation of even Bharat itself from infiltration of Russia. The world events will soon further expose the fallacy of the British reasoning. In crippling Pakistan, the British Imperialism has unlocked the springs of untold mischiefs and invited varied misfortunes for itself and her friends. In fact, strangulation of the ancient peoples of India (Dravidians, Rajputs, Jats, Santals, Nagas, Marathas, etc.) and partition of Pakistan Provinces are those wrongs which must draw the justice of Heaven upon Britain and by irony of fate that justice will descend in the shape of fatal kicks from the very Frankenstein which Britain has so fondly created.

THE END

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1. *While Memory Serves*, p. 359.
2. Ibid., p. 553.

APPENDIX I

Decision of the Mecca Law Doctors

(*The Heads of the Three Great Musalman Sects*)

Question

"What is your opinion (may your greatness continue for ever) on the question: Whether the country of Hindustan, the rulers of which are Christians, and who do not interfere with all the injunctions of Islam such as the ordinary daily Prayers, the Prayers of the two 'Ids, etc., but do authorise departure from a few of the injunctions of Islam, such as the permission to inherit the property of the Mohammedan ancestors to one who changes his religion (being that of the ancestors) and becomes a Christian, is Dar-ul-Islam or not? Answer the above, for which God will reward you."

Answer No. 1

"All praises are due to the Almighty Who is the Lord of all the Creation, O Almighty, increase my knowledge!

"*As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is Dar-ul-Islam.*

"The Almighty is Omniscient, Pure and High.

"This is the *Order* passed by one who hopes for the Secret favour of the Almighty, who praises God, and prays for blessings and peace on His Prophet.

"JAMAL IBN ABDULLAH SHEIKH OMARUL-HANAFI,
the present Mufti of Mecca (the Honoured).
(May God favour him and his father)."

Answer No. 2

"All praises are due to God, Who is One; and may the blessings of God be showered upon our Chief, Mohammed, and upon his descendants and companions and upon the followers of his faith.

"O God! I require guidance from Thee in righteousness.

"*Yes ! as long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is Dar-ul-Islam.*

"The Almighty is Omniscient, Pure and High.

"This is written by one who hopes for salvation from the God of mercy. May God forgive him, and his parents, and preceptors and brothers and friends and all Mohammadens!

"AHMAD IBN ZAINI DAHLAN,
Mufti of the Shafi Sect of Mecca (the Protected)."

Appendices reproduced from W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans.*

Answer No. 3

"All praises are due to God, Who is one! O Almighty! increase my knowledge.

"*It is written in the commentary of Dasoki that a Country of Islam does not become Dar-ul-Harb as soon as it passes into the hands of the infidels, but only when all or most of the injunctions of Islam disappear therefrom.*

"God is Omniscient! May the blessings of God be showered upon our Chief, Mohammed, and on his descendants and companions.

"Written by HOSSAIN-BIN-IBRAHIM,
Mufti of the Maliki Sect of Mecca (the Illustrious)."

APPENDIX II

The Decision of the Law Doctors of Northern India

(*Translation of the Istifta or Question, put by Sayyid Amir Husain, Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur*)

"What is your decision, O men of learning and expounders o the law of Islam, in the following?—

"Whether a Jihad is lawful in India, a country formerly held by a Moahmmedan ruler and now held under the sway of a Christian Government, where the said Christian ruler does in no way interfere with his Mohammedan subjects in the Rites prescribed by their Religion, such as Praying, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Zakat, Friday Prayer, and Zama'at, and gives them fullest protection and liberty in the above respects in the same way as a Mohammedan ruler would do, and where the Mohammedan subjects have no strength and means to fight with their rulers: on the contrary, there is every chance of the war, if waged, ending with a defeat, and thereby causing an indignity to Islam.

"Please answer, quoting your authority."

Fatwa dated the 17*th Rabi-us-Sani,* 1287 *H. corresponding with the* 17*th July,* 1870*:*

"The Musalmans here are protected by Christians, and there is no Jihad in a country where protection is afforded, as the absence of protection and liberty between Musalmans and Infidels is essential in a religious war, and that condition does not exist here. Besides, it is necessary that there should be a probability of victory to Musalman and glory to the Indians. If there be no such probability, the Jihad is unlawful.

[Here the Maulvis quote Arabic passages from *Manhaj-ul-Ghaffar* and *Fatawi-i-Alamgiri*, supporting the decision.]

"MAULAVI ALI MOHAMMED, of Lucknow;
"MAULAVI ABDUL HAI, of Lucknow;
"MAULAVI FAZLULLAH, of Lucknow;
"MAULAVI MOHAMMED NAIM, of Lucknow;
"MAULAVI REHMATULLAH, of Lucknow;
"MAULAVI KUTAB-UD-DIN, of Delhi;
"MAULAVI LUTFULLAH, of Rampur;
and others."

APPENDIX III

Decision of the Calcutta Mohammedan Society

After declaring, in opposition to the Northern Law Doctors, that India *is* a Dar-ul-Islam, Maulavi Karamat Ali proceeded thus:

"The second question is, 'Whether it is lawful in this country to make *Jihad* or not.' This has been solved together with the first. For *Jihad* can by no means be lawfully made in Dar-ul-Islam. This is so evident that it requires no argument or authority to support it. Now, if any misguided wretch, owing to perverse fortune, were to wage war against the Ruling Powers of this country, British India; such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion; and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Therefore such war will likewise be unlawful; and in case anyone would wage such war, the Mohammedan subjects would be bound to assist their Rulers, and in conjunction with their Rulers, to fight with such rebels. The above has been clearly laid down in the *Fatawi-i-Alamgiri*."

Appendix IV

CENSUS OF 1871.

Provinces.	Brahmans	Rajputs.	Out-Castes	Castes unspecified.	Castes not recognised.	Native Christians	Aborigine	Muslims.
Bengal.	2,312,929	1,222,547	24,930,547	467,055	650,477	47,828	11,116,883	19,553,831
Assam.	105,901	6,602	1,194,183	111,838	22,067	1,293	1,490,888	1,104,601
N.W.F.P.	3,234,342	2,395,688	20,501,303	56,595	—	7,648	3,776,740	4,189,348
Ajmer.	15,397	14,330	223,269	—	—	249	—	47,310
Oudh.	1,397,808	662,946	7,655,116	136,073	—	—	90,490	1,197,724
Punjab.	800,547	719,121	5,735,667	—	—	2,675	959,720	9,337,685
C.P.	287,168	176,948	5,415,834	—	36,190	4,674	1,669,835	233,247
Berar.	49,843	36,831	1,524,508	—	409,939	—	163,059	154,951
Mysore	169,637	67,358	3,680,665	—	301,379	18,104	89,067	208,991
Coorg.	3,270	2,800	71,900	—	813,975	2,000	42,516	11,304
Madras	1,095,445	190,415	22,802,223	—	4,782,757	490,299	—	1,857,857
Bombay.	658,479	11,791,878	11,791,878	—	78,582	18,741	711,702	2,870,450
	10,130,766	17,287,464	105,527,093	771,561	7,093,366	593,511	20,110,900	40,767,279

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